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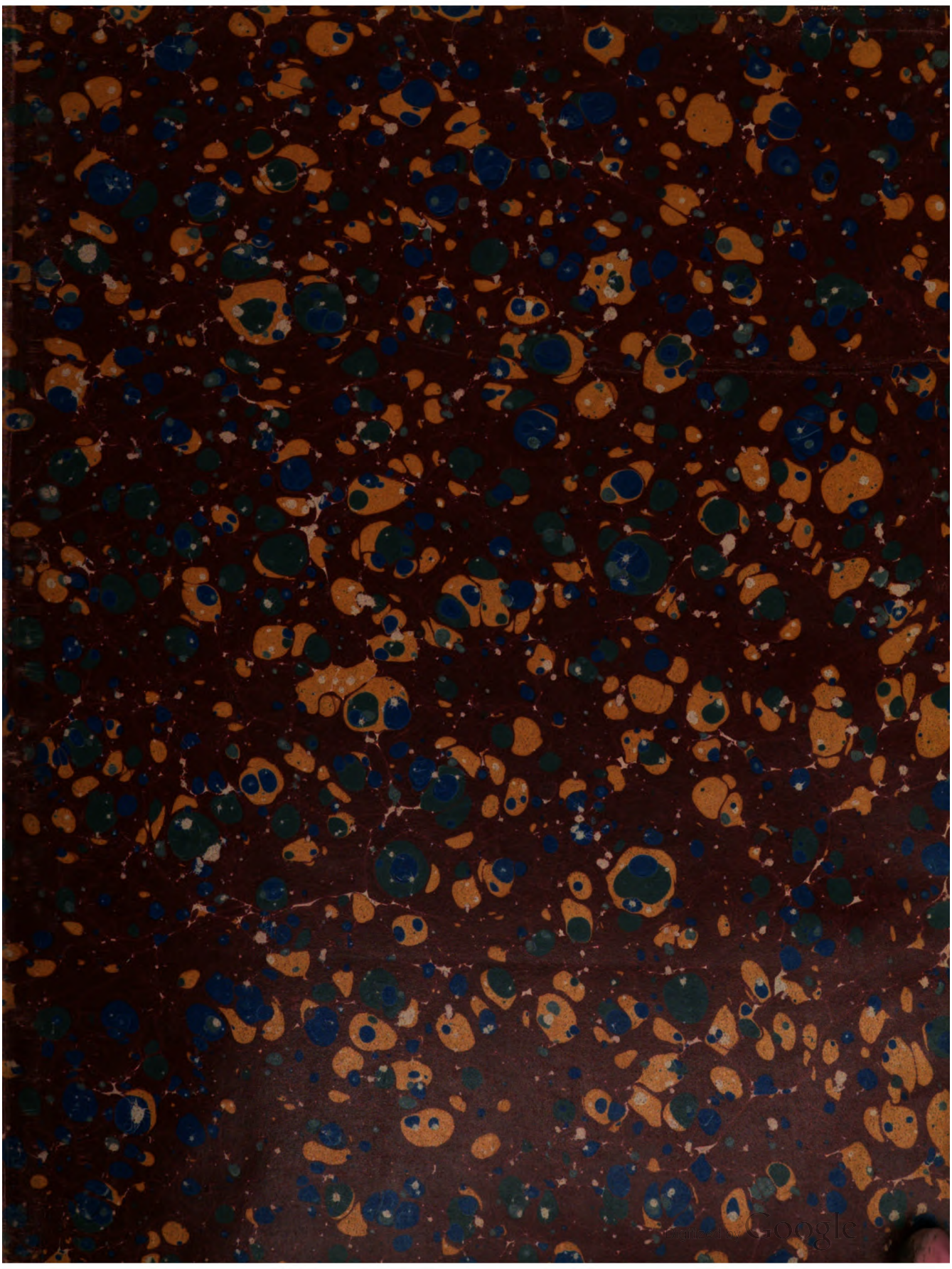
The Magazine of American history with notes and queries

John Austin Stevens, Benjamin Franklin DeCosta, Henry Phelps Johnston, Martha Joanna Lamb, Nathan Gilbert ...

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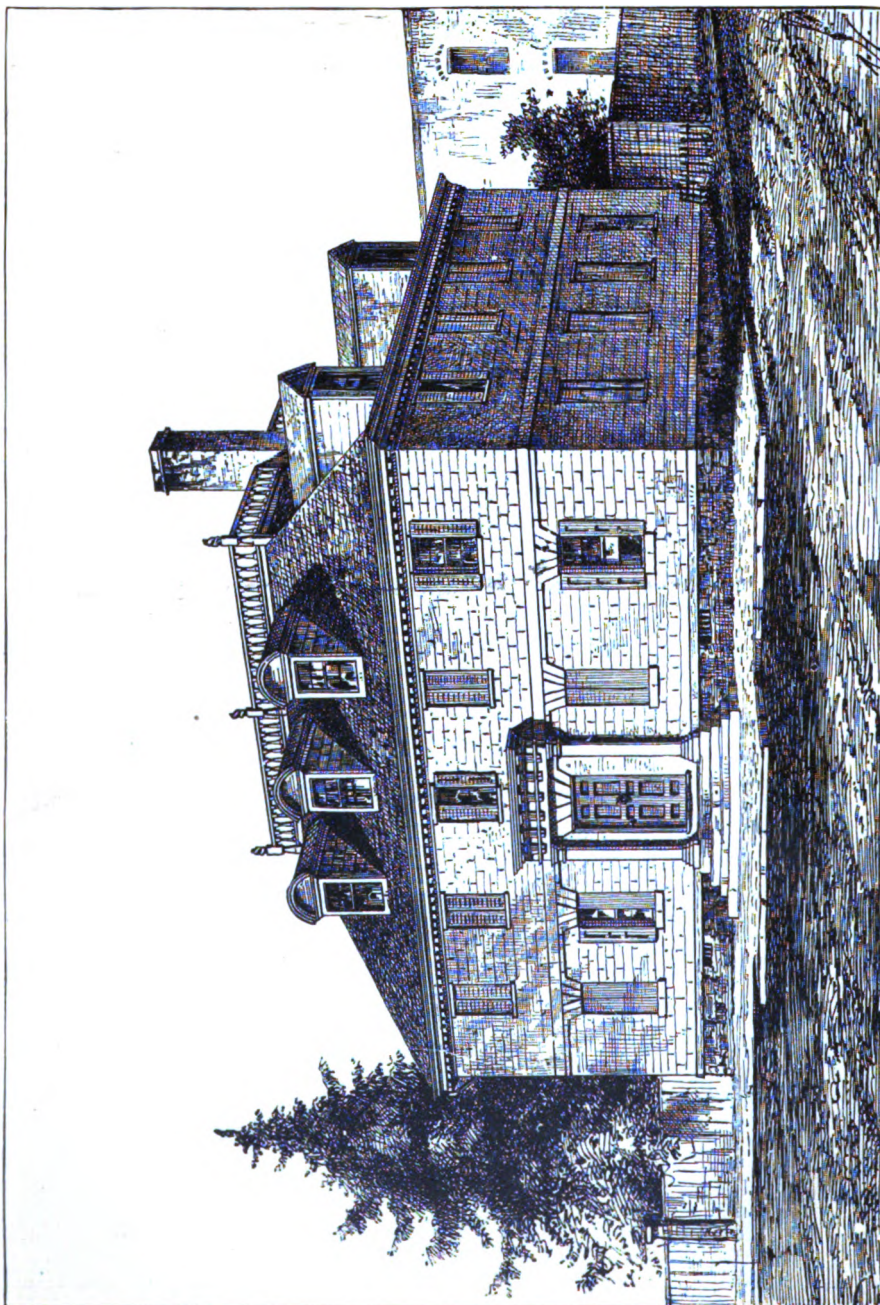
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THE VERNON HOUSE, NEWPORT, R. I.—HEADQUARTERS OF ROCHAMBEAU.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. III

JULY 1879

No. 7

THE FRENCH IN RHODE ISLAND

I—EXPEDITION OF COUNT D'ESTAING—1778

THERE is no more beautiful instance of national gratitude than the affection with which France is regarded by the American people. While the traditional policy of the United States, the wise legacy of the Father of his country, has prevented any direct assistance to France in her many struggles, our sympathy and moral support have never failed her. Our regard has outlived the contemptuous encroachments of the first, and the unfriendly diplomacy of the second Empire; and now that, after nearly a century of struggle against the combined powers of Europe, the prejudices of her own higher classes, the faithlessness of her rulers, and the repressive forces of military power, she has shaken off the last shackle which bound her strong and noble limbs, and with firm and stately step entered upon full possession of her government, these American States, which she helped to found, return the cry with which their own declaration of independence was greeted—the cry of Live the Republic.

In its origin the sympathy of the United States for France was as sudden as in its continuation it has been steadfast. It sprung into life full grown in a moment. In the history of the two countries there is no evidence of any premonitory symptoms. The espousal of the cause of the people of the American colonies dissipated, as by the wand of enchantment the antipathy which the ancestral feud of the mother country with her rival across the channel had given to them as an inheritance, and the hot struggles of a hundred fields on the American Continent had perpetuated and heightened. Besides the feeling of national gratitude, which makes the name of France sacred to every true American, there still exists a lively recollection of the personal qualities of the gallant men who shared the privations, the dangers and the triumphs of

the American army. Wherever they lived, or camped or marched, their discipline, their manners and their charming social qualities endeared them individually to the populations whom they visited.

Before passing to a recital of the incidents of their sojourn in Rhode Island, a glimpse of the events which immediately determined the dispatch of an expeditionary corps to aid the Americans in their struggle may not be thought superfluous. A few general reflections will properly precede the narrative. It is quite the habit of historians, and particularly of French historians, to claim that the fall of the Bastille in 1789 was the opening of the Great Revolution. This is true in no sense of the word. It was in America that the universal aspiration towards individual liberty, under which the Continent of Europe was heaving during the middle of the eighteenth century, found first expression. The cry of "no taxation without representation" was the first distinct formula of the popular yearning. It was the volley of musketry that met the English troops at Lexington, before which the secular walls of the Bastille crumbled, and with it the first of a hundred thrones.

The declaration of hostilities was received with intense satisfaction by the French aristocracy. In no country is national spirit greater than in France; and the nobility, who owned the larger part of the land, and held all the great posts of trust, considered the honor of the country as in their keeping. Their pride had been deeply wounded by the mortifying conditions of the Treaty of 1763, the most glorious and advantageous to the arms of England, the most restrictive to the ambition of France in the history of the countries. By it France had virtually surrendered her claim to participate in the empire of the Western continent, where for more than a century she had maintained a not unequal control, and over which her fondest dream had been to acquire undisputed dominion.

The generous inspiration of Lafayette to abandon favor and promotion, and the delights of domestic felicity for service in the cause of liberty was not confined to his own young and manly breast. His example was immediately followed by numbers of the first gentlemen. Sympathy with America became the fashion in the higher circles of the gay court. The hesitation of the Government to sanction any overt movement in the almost hopeless condition of the finances of the kingdom was amply compensated by the ardor which inflamed not only the men, but the ladies of the capital. During the earlier half of the eighteenth century the favorites of the monarch had exercised a direct influence upon public affairs, and the influence of women, constantly

increasing, had become so powerful that they have been said to have so gotten the upper-hand at the period of the revolt of the American colonies "as to have subjugated the men to such an extent that they only felt or thought as the women felt." When, on the death of Louis the Fifteenth, the throne passed into the hands of Louis the Sixteenth, it was but the throne that passed. Marie Antoinette, by the same stroke of fortune, inherited the power that Du Barry had wielded; through the affection of the King she moulded the destinies of the State; and Marie Antoinette espoused the American cause.

The declaration of war, however, immediately checked the departure of the French youth as volunteers for the American service. To the French nobility, the most exclusive of Europe, the King was the fountain of honor. The proud cognomen of the Grand Monarque, *Le Roi Soleil*, and his device of the sun in meridian glory, was no vain boast. *Dieu et le Roi* was the sentiment of every nobleman in the kingdom. There were other reasons also why they preferred the King's service. The hopes of many of the volunteers who had crossed the seas had been sadly disappointed. They had encountered the difficulty of a strange language, the prejudice of religion, the antagonism of race, and the jealousies of the American youth, which not even political sympathy or common aspiration towards a larger liberty were always sufficient to overcome. Now, however, the path was smooth; the way of glory was the way to certain advancement as well, and the ranks of the service were rapidly filled. Among the most ambitious and distinguished of the officers already in the service was the Count d'Estaing.

At the instance of Count d'Estaing the Queen, little foreboding that the success of the revolt of the American colonies against the English crown would be the forerunner of a revolution, in which the crown of France and all that she held dear would be engulfed, herself persuaded the king to direct a naval expedition to be organized; Count d'Estaing was ordered with his squadron to the American coast, carrying with him Gérard de Rayneval with diplomatic powers to acknowledge the independence of the American Colonies, and to concert a scheme of offensive war. The squadron consisted of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. The Count hoisted his flag on the *Languedoc*. On the *Languedoc* also returned Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners of the United States to the Court of France. He brought with him letters from Vergennes and the special commendation of the king.

The fleet left Toulon the 13th of April, 1778, and passed the Straights of Gibraltar the night of the 17th to 18th May. On the 20th the

captains of the vessels opened their sealed dispatches, and learned their true destination. The Count d'Estaing was ordered to open hostilities at forty leagues distance west of Cape St. Vincent. High mass was held the same morning with great pomp on board the *Languedoc*. All the chief officers assisted in full-dress uniform. The commander's pennant and the national ensign were hoisted, and the ship decorated. The orders of reprisal and prize distribution were read amid the cheers of the crew and cries of *Vive le Roi*. The campaign was opened.

The time of sailing of the Count d'Estaing, and the secrecy of his destination, gave him reasonable assurance of surprising and defeating the squadron of Lord Howe, which was held at the mouth of the Delaware to cover the position of Sir Henry Clinton at Philadelphia. To effect this, and to anticipate any reinforcement of the British fleet, celerity of movement was requisite. Unfortunately the French fleet was badly composed; the vessels of widely unequal speed; thus the rapid sailers were kept back by the slower vessels. Moreover, the Count d'Estaing wasted valuable time in numerous useless evolutions. Land was only seen in July. On the 8th, eighty-seven days after their departure from Toulon, the fleet anchored off the mouth of the Delaware. The bird had flown. Sir Henry Clinton, obeying orders from home, had evacuated Philadelphia on the 22d June, and the army and fleet were now safe in the harbor of New York.

On the 11th Congress, which was then sitting at York, was informed by a letter from Silas Deane (written on the 10th) that the fleet was arrived in Delaware Bay, and measures were at once taken to supply a sufficient number of skillful pilots acquainted with the coast.

Dispatching the Frigate *Chimère* to Philadelphia to convey M. Gérard, the ambassador to Congress, D'Estaing set sail with his fleet, and came to anchor off Shrewsbury; but the determined attitude of Admiral Howe, who had strengthened himself by arming some transports, and the unwillingness of the American pilots, who went on board the *Languedoc* on the 16th, to take the larger vessels, which drew twenty-three, twenty-four and twenty-five feet of water, across the New York bar, effectually prevented any offensive action. On the 20th D'Estaing called a council of his captains, and in their presence offered one hundred and fifty thousand francs to the pilots, if they would attempt the passage, but they declined the undertaking as sure to end in failure.

Meanwhile Congress had directed General Washington to cooperate with the Count d'Estaing in the execution of such offensive operations

against the enemy as they should mutually approve, and empowered him to call upon the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey for the aid of their militia. An expedition to capture the British garrison in Rhode Island was arranged by Washington. General Sullivan, who was placed in command of the district of Rhode Island, was directed to form the American troops into two divisions, to the command of which Greene and Lafayette were assigned. The cooperation of d'Estaing was secured.

On the 22d July the French fleet raised anchor, and set sail to the southward, but changed their course as soon as they were out of sight of the English. The English forces in Rhode Island were under command of General Pigott and concentrated at Newport. The plan of attack agreed upon by the allies was that General Sullivan should land on the north of the island, protected by the French fleet, while d'Estaing would also force the passage of the principal channel, and take the fortifications of the town in reverse.

On the 29th of July the French fleet dropped anchor at the mouth of the great middle channel. The *Fantasque* and *Sagittaire* were ordered to watch the Narragansett or western passage, while the frigates *Aimable*, *Alcmène* and the corvette *Stanley* should anchor in the eastern passage, where the water was too shallow for vessels of heavier draft. The holding of these three passages cut off the retreat of the English vessels in the bay. At daylight on the 5th of August the *Sagittaire* and *Fantasque* sailed up the western passage, doubled the point of Conanicut Island, and dropped anchor in the middle passage. A number of English vessels were set on fire and destroyed, Commander Suffren with French generosity abstaining from firing upon the boats which landed their crews. The *Protecteur* and the *Provence* then took the positions of the *Sagittaire* and the *Fantasque* at the mouth of the Narragansett pass.

On the 8th of August, Sullivan announcing himself as ready to cross from the main land to Rhode Island, Count d'Estaing forced the middle passage with eight vessels under a heavy fire of the English batteries. In the night of the 8th Sullivan landed ten thousand men and a large force of artillery at the northern end of the island. On the morning of the 9th four thousand soldiers and sailors were landed from the fleet on Conanicut Island to be organized and drilled. This corps was intended to cooperate with the American forces, and to act under the orders of d'Estaing in person, who as a Major-General in the army

as well as an Admiral was entirely competent to the command. Well concerted as these arrangements appear to have been, they were nevertheless destined to fail in their purpose. Procrastination and delay were again to postpone the hour of action. In the first instance it has been shown, and here we quote the authority of M. le Capitaine Chevalier, whose admirable History of the French Marine during the War of American Independence supplies the most accurate details on record of its movements; in the first instance the plans of the French Government were defeated by the delay of the fleet in crossing the Atlantic. In the second, which now comes under notice, the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements, a delay, which Bancroft has characterized as a whim.

While the precious hours between the 29th of July and the 9th of August were slipping away, and with them the golden opportunity which once lost never returns, Lord Admiral Howe was straining every nerve to succor the beleaguered garrison of Newport. Fortune favored his efforts. In the July days that followed the departure of the French fleet from Shrewsbury harbor, four British men-of-war had arrived at Sandy Hook from different quarters; one that had been separated from the fleet of Admiral Byron, two from Halifax and one from the West Indies. Thus reinforced, Admiral Howe felt strong enough again to put to sea, and on the 6th left Sandy Hook with thirteen ships, one of seventy-four, seven of sixty-four, five of fifty guns, seven frigates, and a number of transports, laden with troops, provisions and munitions of war. His appearance off the Rhode Island coast during the day of the 9th August, at the very time which, but for his arrival, would have proved what is termed in modern parlance the "psychological moment," for the British garrison, compelled an immediate change in the dispositions of d'Estaing. The men and material landed on Conanicut Island were immediately reembarked, offensive movements abandoned and measures taken to defend the entrance of the Bay. The French officers were eager for the encounter.

On the 10th a breeze stirring from the north-northeast, the French squadron cut their cables, and sailed out of the harbor. Admiral Howe, surprised by the rapidity of their movements, hastily signalled such of his vessels as had come to anchor, and stood out to sea under full sail. He thus avoided an unequal engagement, and drew the French from their positions. The superior sailing qualities of the English vessels, which the authority already mentioned frankly admits as decisive on

many important occasions, here in the first encounter on the American coast were plainly shown. The French were unable to force their enemy to an engagement. The next day the wind increased to a gale, and the two squadrons were separated and scattered. The want of homogeneity, in composition and speed, of the vessels of the French fleet now proved to be an element not only of disadvantage, but of positive danger. On the morning of the 13th the French Admiral found himself alone, with his ship *Le Languedoc* badly injured by the heavy storm, her bowsprit broken, her rigging down, and the helm of her rudder gone. In this situation she was attacked towards sunset by one of the enemy's vessels, who took advantage of her distress and raked her from the rear. The *Languedoc* was gallantly defended by her stern battery until darkness put an end to the conflict. The next morning all the vessels, except the *César*, rallied to the Admiral's flag. The squadron was again anchored, the *Languedoc* refitted with rigging and the damages to the other vessels repaired. The *Marseillais*, also attacked, had lost her mizzen-mast and bowsprit. Sail was again hoisted on the 17th, and on the 20th the fleet came to anchor off Rhode Island. Here d'Estaing was informed by Lafayette, who went in person on board the *Languedoc*, of a new peril.

On learning of the departure of the squadron of d'Estaing from Toulon, the British Admiralty ordered Admiral Byron to the American coast to reenforce Admiral Howe. Byron left Plymouth on the 12th June with thirteen vessels. Heavy weather dispersed the squadron. The Admiral himself put into Halifax, but others of the fleet within a few days arrived at New York. The British squadron was now superior in number and guns, while two of the best of the French vessels, the *Languedoc* and the *Marseillais*, were seriously disabled. A council of all the superior officers and captains was called by d'Estaing on board the *Languedoc*, when it was unanimously agreed that not a moment's delay should be made in making the port of Boston, where damages could be repaired in full security.

General Sullivan, who had impatiently awaited the return of the French to begin hostilities, was grievously disappointed, and endeavored to induce the Count d'Estaing to reconsider his decision; but without result; the situation was too grave to admit of delay, and on the 21st the squadron weighed anchor and set sail for Boston, which it reached in safety the 28th of the same month. This sudden departure placed General Sullivan in a difficult position, from which he extricated himself without serious loss, and with credit to himself and

his army. On the 31st of August he was safe on the mainland. The next day Sir Henry Clinton reached Newport with four thousand men, and an escort of several men-of-war. General Sullivan, chafing under his disappointment, indulged in unbecoming censure of the conduct of d'Estaing, and aroused a strong feeling against the French, which culminated in a riot in Boston, in which two of the officers of the fleet, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur and Pléville de Peley, were dangerously injured, the former mortally. The crisis was critical. A single false step might alienate the good will of the French Government, and turn back the feeling of friendship which had been brought to practical result with such difficulty. D'Estaing, with prompt spontaneity, which showed the elevation of his character, immediately offered to march his men overland from Boston to Newport to cooperate in an attack of the post. Fortunately the leaders of opinion were equal to the emergency. The indiscreet words of General Sullivan were disavowed by Washington and Greene, and even Congress, alarmed at the gravity of the emergency, adopted a resolution, bearing witness to its "appreciation of the zeal and attachment the Count d'Estaing had shown to the cause of the United States on several occasions, and especially in the noble and generous offer to march from Boston at the head of his troops to cooperate in the reduction of Rhode Island." The safe withdrawal of the American troops to the mainland rendered any such movement unnecessary.

Thus closed in defeat and disappointment the first visit of the French forces to the shores of Rhode Island. The overawed patriots, who still remained in Newport under the domination of the British garrison, here first saw the royal standard of France, with its golden fleur de lys on the broad field of white, floating in friendly guise. It is easy to imagine the joy which filled their hearts as the noble squadron sailed up the broad channels of the beautiful bay, and their sinking disappointment as the fleet of succor weighed final anchor, and under the pressure of an inexorable necessity spread their sails and took their eastern course. Not yet, however, had the citizens of the charming town made acquaintance with the personnel of the fleet, among whom was the flower of the French navy, men of fortune and of rank, all eager to shed their blood, if need be, in the cause of Liberty. Chief among the officers was the famous Bailli de Suffren, who had forced the middle passage with the *Fantasque* and the *Sagittaire*, and was to acquire fresh reputation in later campaigns.

Notwithstanding the failure of the main purpose of the expedition

its results were not without honor to the French arms. The English frigates *Grand Duke*, of forty guns; *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno* and *Flora*, of thirty-two; *Cerberus* of twenty-eight; the corvettes *King Fisher*, *Falcon*, and some smaller vessels were burned by the English to avoid capture in the harbor; the corvette *Senegal* and a bomb ketch fell into the power of the French fleet after the storm of the 11th of August.

The operations of the French fleet along the coast and in the West Indies during the winter, and the check of the allies before Savannah in the fall of 1779, need not here be related. The presence of the French fleet on the coast compelled the British commanders to exercise the greatest circumspection in the uncertainty of what point might be next attacked, paralyzed their offensive efforts, and caused a concentration of their forces at New York. Among the important consequences was the hasty evacuation of Rhode Island on the 25 October. The next morning the American troops which had been stationed at Tiverton and Bristol crossed to the Island and took possession of Newport.

The fleet, which had left Toulon the 13th April, 1778, recalled by M. de Sartines, reached France on their return in the month of December, 1779. Notwithstanding his well-earned character for dash, bravery and patriotism, the Count d'Estaing did not carry home with him an increase of reputation. His officers entertained but slight opinion of his seamanship and conduct as a naval commander. The honors of the campaign were with the Bailli de Suffren, d'Orvillier, de Guichen, La Motte Picquet and others.

II—EXPEDITION OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU—1780—I

Among those whom the prospects of an European war determined to return to France to take service under the King, was the Marquis de Lafayette. A Major-General in the service of the United States, he received from Congress on the 21st October, 1778, an indefinite leave of absence, and the Minister at the Court of Versailles was directed to present him with a sword of honor in the name of the United States. Moreover, he carried a letter of special recommendation from Congress to the King. He was at this time in his twenty-second year. He sailed from Boston on the 11th January, 1779, on board the *Alliance*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, which the King had placed at his disposal. The arrival of the brilliant young nobleman

was an event in the gay capital. The King gave him the command of a regiment of dragoons, and he entertained hopes of immediate active service. Before joining his regiment, he used his prestige and great social influence to promote the interest of his friends beyond the sea. His entreaties for succor of vessels and money were incessant. Possessing the confidence of the Governments of both countries, he became the tie between them. The fear of a revival of the old colonial prejudice against the French nation, and the jealousy, which had already shown itself in the Continental army, of the French officers, for a long time restrained Lafayette from asking the Ministry for any assistance in men. Indeed, he had left America with an understanding that no such request should be made. Notwithstanding this injunction, and assuming the responsibility of the step, he made direct application to the Ministry early in 1780, and in a letter of the 20th of February to M. de Vergennes submitted a plan of operations for an expeditionary corps, to consist of thirty-six hundred men, to be under his personal command. Later, considerations presented themselves which decided him to resume his command in the American army.

Charged with private dispatches for Congress, he sailed from Rochefort on the 6th March in the King's frigate *Hermione*, of thirty-six guns, Chevalier de la Touche, commander, and arrived at Boston on the 27th April. He was received with acclamation and demonstrations of popular joy, and carried in triumph to the house of Governor Hancock. He at once informed Washington that he had intelligence of the last importance for his own ear, and on the 2d May set out for Headquarters at Morristown, which he reached the 10th May. The news which he brought was of the definitive intention of the French Court to send a fleet and army to cooperate with the Americans, and the rapid organization of the expeditionary corps. The details had been agreed upon before the departure of the Marquis from France, and for a time were kept a profound secret by Congress and the high military authorities. The British Government, however, were early aware of the equipment of the squadron at Brest destined for America, and in March Sir Henry Clinton was advised that Canada was probably aimed at. Perhaps it was known that this was the open desire of Lafayette. Indeed, it was only the jealousy of de Vergennes of any further aggrandizement of American power that prevented the expedition taking that direction.

State secrets, however, when they concern the movement of fleets and armies, are rarely secrets long. On the 17th May Rivington's Royal Gazette, the Tory sheet of New York City, announced that

"the Marquis de la Fayette had his audience of leave of his Majesty on the 29th of last month (February) on his return to America, where he is to serve under the Comte de Rochambeau, who goes out with the regiments de Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Saintonge, Neustrie, Roverque, Royal Deux-Ponts, Royal Corse and Anhalt; they are to march for Brest the 15th of this month. All the Colonels of these regiments are ordered to set out the 25th, to be present at the embarkation." The news spread with rapidity, though as yet there was only speculation as to where the fleet would make a landing. Upon his departure from Paris, 5th March, 1780, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to avoid mistake or delay, had ordered Lafayette to post officers at Cape Henry and on the Rhode Island coast to watch the arrival of the fleet, and convey to it all requisite information as to the plans of the Americans and the position of the enemy. In accordance with these instructions, the Marquis on the 19th May, 1780, wrote in duplicate to the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, commander of the French squadron, with an elaborate exposition of the state of affairs, and the wishes of General Washington. The original was handed to M. de Galvan with instructions to proceed to the mouth of the Chesapeake, where the fleet would probably first make land, and copies were also sent by trusty messengers to Point Judith, and Seaconnet, the western and eastern points of the main-land coast of Rhode Island.

Steps were now taken for the reception and supply of the expected reinforcements. Congress, which had passed resolutions expressive of their satisfaction at the return of Lafayette, raised a committee to receive such communications as he had to make concerning the campaign, and to confer with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States. Later information was received, to the effect that the fleet would "in the first instance touch at Rhode Island, for the purpose of landing their sick and supernumerary stores, and to meet the intelligence necessary to direct their operations." This was communicated by Washington to Major-General Heath, who was then at his house in Roxbury on a temporary leave of absence from his command of the Highland posts. He was directed immediately to repair to Providence, to be ready to present himself to the French commanders on their arrival, with an offer of his advice and services. To no person could this delicate mission have been more safely entrusted than to Heath, in whose judgment Washington placed implicit confidence. He was of New England origin, and had only recently been transferred from the command of the Eastern District to

his new and important post. He was also instructed to establish a market between the fleet and army and the country, that the allies might not be imposed upon in their purchases. Heath left his house on the 15th, and reached Providence the next day, being met at the Patucket Bridge by Deputy Governor Bowen and others of the principal gentlemen of the town. Dr. Craik was sent on by Washington to take up houses for hospitals, and make other sanitary arrangements. Congress also busied itself in preparation. On the 29th May it called upon the several States to complete their battalions of the army with all possible dispatch. On the 5th June, by their President, they introduced to the Rhode Island Government Monsieur Louis Ethis de Corny, who had been appointed Commissary-General of the French forces. De Corny held the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry in the United States Army. He happened to be at Versailles when the expedition was concerted, and though not attached to it, obtained the appointment. He was escorted to Providence by a troop of horse; the Government ordered a house to be vacated for his accommodation, and at his request the handsome college building in the city, a large edifice in a salubrious situation, was given up for a hospital for the sick. On the 2d July, General Heath received news that the fleet left France on the 20th May, and that it was rumored there that if it fell to the northward, it would visit Halifax; if to the southward, it would proceed to Rhode Island.

The 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, was celebrated at Providence with universal glee. Thirteen cannon were fired from the Park, and the Governor, the French Commissary and a number of gentlemen dined with General Heath.

The command of the French squadron was entrusted to Monsieur de Ternay, Chef d'Escadre. His fleet consisted of seven ships of the line: the Duc de Bourgogne, eighty guns; the Neptune and Conquérant, of seventy-four; the Provence, Eveillé, Jason, and Ardent, of sixty-four; three frigates, the Surveillante, Amazone, and Gentille, of thirty guns. Besides these were the corvette Fantasque, of twenty guns, armed *en flûte*, which was fitted as a hospital ship, and carried the heavy artillery, the treasure and numerous passengers, and the cutter La Guêpe, fourteen guns; in all, twelve vessels carrying six hundred and eighteen guns; the transports were thirty-two in number, upon which the expeditionary corps of five thousand was embarked. On the night of the 20th May, the wind turning to the northeast, the squadron, which had been at anchor at Bertheaume, in the roadstead of Brest, set

sail. Although detained for several days in the gulf of Biscay by a sudden change of wind, the fleet gained an offing without meeting a single hostile cruiser. M. de Ternay had not been without apprehension that his movements would be interfered with by the squadron which Admiral Graves was known to be fitting out at Portsmouth, for the express purpose of pursuing and forcing him to action. On the 20th June the French fleet was to the southwest of the Bermudas, running rapidly before the wind, when five British vessels were signalled to the northeast, bearing straight down. Order of battle was formed, and the transports sent to leeward. The hostile vessels were part of a division of Commodore Cornwallis, returning to the Antilles after escorting a convoy to the Bermudas. The English, discovering that they were in presence, not of a merchant fleet, but a superior armed force, changed their course. One of the English vessels became separated from her companions, and would have fallen a prey to de Ternay, had not his prudence dictated to him the danger of an action which might expose his convoy. The two squadrons held the same course during the day, but under cover of the night the English Commodore turned to the southward, and M. de Ternay held on his way to the American coast. On the 4th July, just before dark, he arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake, where his frigates signalled to him the presence of ten or twelve sail at anchor in the bay. Fearing that the strange vessels might make part of the squadron of Arbuthnot, who was on the American station, or of Graves, who was expected, de Ternay, with commendable judgment, changed his course several times during the night, and the next day steered straight for Rhode Island.

As they neared the land they entered one of the heavy fogs for which the coast is famous. They were heartily weary of the long protracted passage. The condition of the sick was such that one who was of the expedition, Commissary Blanchard, relates that it was questionable whether even an action would be more murderous than a longer stay at sea. Perhaps the fog lifting might reveal the presence of an enemy in superior force. Finally at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th land was descried from the masts of the *Conquérant*; it had already been signalled by a merchantman who had been captured. It was Martha's Vineyard that was seen. The moment was one of excitement; the sick came out from their beds with joy. No enemy was in sight. At eight o'clock the fleet hove to. Early in the morning of the 10th it again weighed anchor; about noon pilots came on board from the neighboring islands to offer their services. The fleet again anchored

at ten. On the morning of the 11th sail was made, but the weather being foggy, and the signal of danger being made by one of the convoy, the fleet anchored again. About eight o'clock the fog lifted, and the shore line was distinctly visible. Point Judith, only a league distant; beyond, the Newport point, and what was most satisfactory, on each of the points of the shore, the French flag, white with golden fleur de lis, was discovered. This was the signal agreed upon with Lafayette that Rhode Island was safe in American hands, and the French would be well received. General de Rochambeau with his staff went at once on board the frigate *Hermione*, and sailed for Newport, where he landed before noon.

The prudence of de Ternay, in using all speed to reach his destination, and in avoiding any conflict which would in the least delay his course, was in happy contrast with the dilatoriness of d'Estaing in the preceding campaign. In fact, any other course might have seriously compromised the success of his mission, safely to land the expeditionary corps, an event from which the happiest consequences were expected by all the friends of the United States. Admiral Graves left Portsmouth in pursuit with seven vessels early in May. He met in the Channel the same westerly gale which detained the French squadron in the gulf. Compelled to turn back by stress of weather, he passed fifteen days in the port of Plymouth. Putting to sea again, he crowded sail to reach the American coast before the French, and on the 13th July, only forty-eight hours after the arrival of de Ternay at Rhode Island entered the port of New York, where he found Arbuthnot with four vessels. A few days later the French fleet would have found its course to Rhode Island blocked by eleven vessels.

The circumstances which attended the arrival of the squadron of de Ternay were in as striking contrast to those which met that of d'Estaing as the conduct of their commanders. The one was received with a hot and angry fire, and only entered the hostile harbor by sheer force; the second visit of the French to Rhode Island was welcomed with every demonstration of popular joy.

As soon as the squadron was safely anchored, the troops of de Rochambeau were landed. They sadly needed repose after their passage, more than a third being on the sick list on their arrival. The sick were immediately moved to the interior, where arrangements had been made for their reception, as has been previously shown, and the forts which defended the town were put in the possession of the French, who at once set to work to remodel and put them in a situation for defence.

The account of the forces given by the New York Tory sheet was not far from the truth. Owing to a want of transports, the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt, with two or three hundred men of Lauzun's legion, were left in France. The troops embarked, five thousand and eighty-eight men, consisted of the regiments of Bourbonnais, Soissonais, Saintonge, Royal Deux-Ponts, the latter an Alsacian regiment, about five hundred artillerymen and six hundred men of Lauzun's legion, three hundred of whom were intended for a troop of horse.

On the appearance of the fleet in the offing, a dispatch was sent to General Heath, at Providence, who was engaged preparing for their reception and provisioning by the establishment of an equitable market between the fleet and the country. The dispatch reached General Heath at one o'clock at night. On the 11th an express was sent to General Washington, whose headquarters were at Bergen county, in New Jersey, and General Heath took the packet down the bay to Newport. The day being calm, he only reached the harbor at midnight. The Count de Rochambeau had gone on shore in the evening. The next morning General Heath waited on the Count on shore. After breakfast he went on board the Duc de Bourgogne, and paid his respects to the Chevalier de Ternay. At ten the Admiral saluted the town with thirteen guns, which were returned with a like number. In the evening of the 12th, the town was beautifully illuminated, and thirteen grand rockets were fired in front of the State house, much to the delight of the French. A letter from Newport (published in the New Jersey Gazette, August 2, 1780) says of this occasion, in the stately style of the period, that the "brilliant appearance of the numerous Gentlemen, Officers of the fleet and army of our illustrious ally who were on shore, with that of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the town, and the joy which every friend to liberty expressed on the happy occasion, afforded a pleasing prospect of the future felicity and grandeur of this country, in alliance with the most polite, powerful and generous nation in the world."

On the 12th General Heath dined with the Count de Rochambeau. On the 13th the Chevalier de Ternay and the principal officers of the squadron went on shore. On the 14th the Count de Rochambeau and the General officers of the French army dined with General Heath, and in the days succeeding mutual entertainments were exchanged in what Heath terms "happy fraternity." Even this word "fraternity," later famous as one of the French revolutionary trilogy, antedated, it will be observed, the rising of 1789. It must not be imagined, however, that with all this gayety the Frenchmen found their bed one of roses, or enjoyed a lazy interval of repose.

The French troops, on their disembarkation, were immediately encamped across the island, covering the town, their left resting on the sea, and their right on the ships at anchor, which lay under the protection of batteries which de Rochambeau erected on commanding positions, and carefully flanked with earthworks. These batteries the French manned with their guns, which excited the surprise of the Americans. In the words of a contemporaneous account, "the great and small artillery landed by our generous allies, and disposed in different parts of this town and island, exceed anything of the kind ever seen here. They have brass cannon from 4 to 48 pounders, and in great plenty." Nor will any wonder at their admiration who has seen in our arsenals, as glorious reminders of the heroic days, the beautiful pieces of ordnance from the French foundries of the period, ornamented with wreaths and decorations, bearing baptismal names, and some cheering or loving device engraved in quaint lettering. Guns to love, to stand by, and die by, if duty calls, with pride. The disposition of the works and batteries was such that a rapid concentration could be made by interior lines on any threatened point. In twelve days the port was in a state of reasonable defense. The works were not yet completed when intelligence was received of the arrival of Admiral Graves at Sandy Hook on the 13th. Well might Rochambeau, as he frankly does in his memoirs, congratulate himself on de Ternay's prudent and successful avoidance of this fleet, from which they might have had rough usage.

On the 21st July, in the afternoon Admirals Graves and Arbuthnot made their appearance off the harbor with eleven vessels; one of ninety, six of seventy-four, three of sixty-four and one of fifty guns. The next day the number of the British vessels had increased to nineteen, of which eight or nine were line-of-battle ships. While they cruised off and on, the French squadron held their station, stretching from Rose Island to Goat Island Harbors. Hesitating to run the fire of the French, the British commanders concluded to await the arrival of Clinton, who was preparing a corps to repeat against the allies their own unsuccessful operation of 1778.

The news of the arrival of the French spread with great rapidity. The continent throbbed with it. The express of General Heath, with letters from Rochambeau, enclosing copies of his instructions from the King, reached Washington at headquarters at Bergen county on the 14th. It was carried by Colonel de la Rochefontaine. The same day it was announced to the troops, and received, in the words of an officer,

whose letter has been preserved, with great joy. It was known at Philadelphia, where Congress then held its sessions, on Sunday, the 15th. Nor were the enemy in their stronghold in New York far behind in gaining the intelligence. The preliminary movement had not escaped their observation. An article appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette, so curious in its details and so characteristic of the Franco-phobia which animated the English of the eighteenth century as thoroughly as it does the Germans of the nineteenth, that it is given entire. "We are informed," the editor writes on the 16th, "that the rebels are busily employed in making fascines, gabions and other articles for carrying on military operations: as from the Marquis de Lafayette's report to Mr. Washington that the Chevalier de Ternay may be expected at this time to land a body of troops on this Continent; in which case possession of the land would be taken in the name of the French King; * * * however in this intention they probably will be molested by a power that has hitherto often proved too mighty for the united house of Bourbon. The prospect of a French army landing in the northern provinces alarms the Republican fraternity in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Should their Roman Catholic allies ever nestle themselves on one of the revolted States, it is apprehended their Independence must give way to the establishment of a French Government, laws, customs, &c., ever abhorrent to the sour and turbulent temper of a Puritan." On the 18th, news of the arrival of the fleet reached the city. On the 25th that of their landing on Conanicut was made public. On the 2d of August the same Tory sheet announced that "the French Admiral has taken possession of Rhode Island in the name of the King of France, and displayed the French colours without the least deference to the flag of their ally, the revolted Americans; this affords disgust and mortification to the rebels, evincing that their Roman Catholic friends intend to keep possession of all they seize on in North America." The rumor of the hoisting of the French flag no doubt sprung from the posting of the two French flags at the entrance of the harbor as signals of safety to the approaching fleet.

First impressions are rarely effaced. The courtly polish of the French contrasted strikingly with the overbearing arrogance which the colonists had, with rare exceptions, met from British officers. A Providence letter of the 22d, made public in the newspapers, is explicit on this point: "The French officers of every rank," it says, "have rendered themselves agreeable by that politeness which characterizes the French nation;" and adds that "the officers and soldiers wear cockades

of three colors, emblematic of a triple alliance between France, Spain and America." This seems to have been the first use of the tri-color. Such was the impression produced by the French. It is of equal interest to know how our plain, practical ancestors appeared to foreign eyes, accustomed to splendor and display.

Newport before the revolution was one of the most commercial cities on the continent. Its merchants traded with every port which the exclusive regulations of the British navigation laws left open to their enterprise. No town in the colonies was more prosperous, and in none was social life on a more generous scale. Close relations with Bristol, the most liberal of English cities, and a free intercourse with foreign countries gave to the little town a cosmopolitan coloring. If evidence be needed of the truth of this assertion, it may be found in the fact that there were in the city three hundred families of Jewish race; that peculiar people, whose steps for nineteen centuries have marked the commercial highways of the world, pausing only where they found liberty, if not freedom; toleration, if not perfect equality; and everywhere by their industry and patriotism adding to the prosperity of the people among whom they dwelled. In the enjoyment of material comforts, which successful trade brought to its merchant princes, the arts and sciences were not neglected. In the well-poised words of the accomplished orator, who summed up its history on the centennial of the national birthday: "The people of Newport in 1774 possessed as much wealth, enterprise, intelligence and refinement as any other place in America." Foreign languages were commonly understood herealso, as the records of the great mercantile houses show. Spanish was the commercial medium of the last century, and French the *sine qua non* of a polite education.

The population of Newport, about nine thousand souls in 1774, had dwindled rapidly. It lost four thousand in the succeeding year. During the three years that it was in the British occupation, from 6th December, 1776, to the 25th October, 1779, the island had endured every form of suffering that the presence of an enemy could inflict. Its thick forests, luxuriant in the moderate and moist temperature; its extensive orchards, the fame of the fruit of which was European even; its numerous plantations of ornamental shrubbery, had all been cut down and consumed. Such had been the destruction, that in the severe winter of 1779-80 wood was sold at twenty dollars the cord, while corn brought four, and potatoes two dollars the bushel.

In an anonymous journal, which the indefatigable and lamented author of *Les Français en Amérique*, the late Thomas Balch,

rescued from oblivion, and which is ascribed by him to M. le Baron Cromot du Bourg, an aid of de Rochambeau, there is a curious description of Rhode Island and Newport, as they appeared to him at this period. He found the country in its irregularity not unlike parts of the Normandy coast. He was surprised to see the fields fenced in by rude walls of stones, piled one upon another, and by the large area covered by the villages, some of which, he relates, were four and five, and even fifteen miles long, with houses thinly scattered here and there. Rhode Island, he says, "must before the war have been one of the most agreeable spots in the world, as, in spite of the disasters it has been subjected to, its houses destroyed and all its woods cut down, it is still a most charming residence." The land seemed to him very much cut up. This was before the subdivision of French soil among small holders, it must be remembered, and therefore attracted his attention. A few of the fields were under cultivation; there were extensive orchards, as fine as in Normandy. There was but little game on the island, but great numbers of domestic animals. He notices particularly the horses, though he found them in small variety. They were excellent leapers, being early trained to this exercise; and he also remarks upon their peculiar gait, the French amble, of which they would not be cured; a life-like description of the Narragansett pacer. Of Newport he says that it is "the only town on the island, with but two principal streets, but still a pretty town. Three-fourths of the houses are scattered at a distance, and are in themselves small farms." In the houses the French found little to admire, the summit of architecture being a building of brick; but they speak with unstinted praise of their interior comfort.

Abundant letters remain to show the opinion the French officers formed of their American hosts. Rochambeau notices particularly the independence of religion from politics, the strict observance of the Sabbath, the universal hospitality, the liberty accorded to young women and the utter indifference of single women to married men. He praises the virtue of the women and their intelligent motherhood. In the dwellings of the rich merchants he found elegant English furniture, while the dresses of the ladies were of the last fashion of Paris. Memoirs of the officers contain personal notices also of the ladies whom they met. De Lauzun's description of the Hunter family, with whom he resided at Newport, is too familiar to be repeated. These charming ladies are only cited as a type of the breeding and culture of the higher social circles of the last century. The appetites of the Americans seem to

have greatly astonished the French. Four meals a day they found to be common. Indeed, they go so far as to say that our good forefathers spent most of their time at table.

A plan of the town of Newport, surveyed by Charles Blaskowitz, engraved and published by William Faden, Charing Cross, September 1, 1777, gives a perfect representation of the old town, as it essentially remains to-day. Thames and Spring streets were then as now the principal streets. The beautiful avenues and estates, which encircle the older city in arms of green, matchless in wealth of foliage and incomparable lawns of tender verdure, are a growth of this century. This excellent plan is not our only guide to the old city. There still exists in the possession of Mr. Henry T. Drowne of Rhode Island, now a resident of New York City, a French manuscript chart, giving a complete list of the houses occupied by the French officers, with the names of their owners, the streets in which they were, and even the street numbers. Here we find that the Count de Rochambeau was quartered in the house of William Vernon, in New Lane, No. 302, corner of Mary and Clarke streets; Baron de Vioménil, his *Maréchal de Camp*, at the house of Joseph Wanton, 214 Thames street, while de Tarlé, the Intendent, had his Quartermaster-General's office, at No. 274 of the same street; Desandrouins, Colonel of the Engineers, was at the house of Colonel John Malbone, 28 Thames street; and the afterwards famous Count de Fersen, the devoted adorer and faithful friend of Marie Antoinette, made his home with Robert Stevens, one of the principal merchants of the day. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay youths, found a welcome at the hands of Mrs. Deborah Hunter, at 264 Thames street. Of the high officers of the fleet, the Chevalier de Ternay lived at the (Colonel) Wanton house on the point, 608 Water street, and the gallant Destouches with William Redwood, at 627 of the same street. The Provost Marshal opened his office at the town prison, and the Paymaster knew that his chest would be safe, and perhaps his bills find easy discount, with the Jewish merchants Seixas and Levy, at 314 Rupert street. Some of the houses thus occupied still remain, or have only recently been destroyed. Of these, on or near Washington Square, the centre of the old town, the most celebrated are the Vernon Mansion, the Hunter House and the once elegant building, noted for its rich and elaborately furnished interior, then the dwelling of Mr. Levy.

While the newly landed troops were recovering their health and vigor in the genial climate, and the officers accustoming themselves to the simple manners they found on the primitive soil, Rochambeau and de

Ternay waited impatiently the arrival of the second detachment. The original expeditionary force was to have consisted of 7,683 men, but from the lack of transports 2,645 were left behind. The letter of Lafayette, which was placed in Rochambeau's hands on his arrival, had urged an immediate descent upon New York, which had been for a long time the point to which the mind of Washington was chiefly directed as the key of the seaboard. In the opinion of Rochambeau success was not sufficiently assured to risk the venture; indeed the superiority of the naval strength of the English had at once placed any movement of the allies, which involved a cooperation of the French fleet, out of the question.

Although the continent rejoiced over the new situation, Washington was anxious and impatient. In a letter of July 22d, to the Hon. Joseph Jones, as yet unpublished, although some of the same thoughts appear in other parts of his correspondence at this juncture (a letter preserved in the extensive collection of Mr. J. C. McGuire of the District of Columbia), Washington says: "This is a decisive moment, and I will go further and say *the* most important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and (if) we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind." Passing then to a consideration of the comparative situations of France and England, he draws the conclusion that France was not in a condition to endure the taxation, which another campaign would involve, for any duration. The circumstances of France therefore, as well as those of America, he concluded, called for peace, and to obtain it one great effort must at once be made. If the American States did their duty, the campaign might be made decisive, but the duty must be done in earnest, or disgrace would be the consequence. While thus, by public counsel and private appeal, urging the Legislatures to action, he pressed Rochambeau to movement with equal vigor. Lafayette, who shared his impatience, hurried to the French camp. He arrived in Newport on the 21st July, and at once submitted the plan, devised by Washington, of an attack on New York, to which Rochambeau objected the sanitary condition of his troops and his expectation of the arrival at any moment of at least twenty-five hundred men, and probably a much larger force; moreover, he added, the Chevalier de Ternay had written to Admiral de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet on the West-India Station, calling upon him to send the five vessels promised from his squadron, and concluded that he hoped to be ready to take part in the present campaign before its close,

and in the next, certainly, with greatly superior forces. A summary of this conversation was sent by Lafayette to Rochambeau immediately on his arrival at headquarters; Lafayette added that in his judgment the fate of America depended upon the activity of the French army during the summer, and complained that the occupation of Rhode Island was of no use to the Americans. Rochambeau replied in a vein of satire that he had never heard that the occupation of Rhode Island had done the Americans any harm; that the presence of the fleet left the American privateers free for excellent service; and closed by saying that he awaited the orders of his *Generallissime* (Washington), of whom he entreated an interview. This letter Lafayette answered by an apology, expressing his mortification to see the French fleet blockaded in Rhode Island and the troops inactive. De Rochambeau closed this part of their correspondence by reminding his impetuous young friend that even the port of Brest had been blockaded for more than two months by an English fleet, which had prevented the despatch of the second division, and added, referring to a movement of the troops, that he awaited the moment which promised certain success, saying, in words as creditable as they were true, "that he had an experience of command of forty years, and that of fifteen thousand men who had been killed or wounded under his orders, he could not reproach himself with the loss of a single person killed on his account." Washington was disappointed, and for a long time did not seem disposed to grant the interview Rochambeau requested. He pleaded the embarrassment of leaving his camp. De Ternay also positively declined to accede to Washington's urgent request to proceed to Sandy Hook, the passage of which was too dangerous for vessels of the draught of his seventy-fours.

On the 25th and 26th July intelligence arrived of an intended attack by Clinton with ten thousand men. General Heath at once ordered Colonel Greene, with his regiment of Continentals, to take post at Bristol Ferry, at the mouth of the Pocasset River, and on Butts' Hill to command the northern approaches to the island. He also called on the Governor of Rhode Island for fifteen hundred men, the militia regiments of Colonels Tyler and Perry and for eight hundred men, Massachusetts troops, under Brigadier Godfrey. Signals were put out as far as Watch Hill. On the 31st Heath was advised by Washington, who had crossed the Hudson with all the militia he could gather, that he was about to move down from the Highlands towards Kingsbridge, either to create a diversion or attack, as circumstances should favor. On Rhode Island all was bustle and activity. "The militia came

in with great spirit. They were formed into brigades, and every disposition made for instant and vigorous defence at every point where it was supposed an attempt might be made. The batteries were strengthened, a very strong one erected on Rose Island, and redoubts on Coasters Island; the strong works on Butts' Hill pushed; avenues across the fields, by the shortest routes, were opened from the encampment of the French army to those points where their instant presence might be judged necessary; and marks fixed, at small distances from each other, to prevent any mistakes in the routes either by day or night. Indeed no precaution was omitted, or probable advantage of ground or situation neglected. Had Sir Henry made the attempt which he menaced, he would undoubtedly have met a warm reception; but for some reason or other he gave up his design, and the militia were again sent home. Perhaps on no occasion, says General Heath, from whose diary this soldierly account is taken, "did the militia discover more ardour in pressing to the field, or more regularity when there, than at that time, which was everywhere testified by the inhabitants."

Clinton actually embarked six thousand men at Throg's Neck on transports, but, when everything was ready, he changed his mind, crossed the Sound to Huntington Bay, and disembarked at Whitestone on the 31st July. In a letter to Lord Germaine (August 14, 1780) he attributes his change of plan to the information he had of the attention the enemy had given to fortify themselves, and intimates some disagreement between himself and the Admiral. The rapid movement of Washington was no doubt the controlling cause. In the same letter Clinton abandons all idea of making any attack upon the allied forces.

On Monday, the 21st August, a committee of the General Assembly of the State, which was then sitting in Newport, waited on de Rochambeau with an address, congratulating him upon his safe arrival, expressing their hope that the campaign would result to the peace and happiness of the contending forces and mankind in general, and pledging their efforts to supply the necessary refreshments for the troops, and to render the service happy and agreeable to all ranks. A similar address was presented to Admiral de Ternay. The reply of Rochambeau was a model of wisdom. His words, carrying with them the authority of the King, spread rapidly over the country. His distinct declaration that he and his troops were subordinate to General Washington allayed the fear which existed among the Americans, that the French commanders would endeavor to maintain a distinct and independent authority; a fear which the British had done all in their power to aggravate. It satisfied the

people also that they need have no dread of a forced occupation of their homes, or a repetition of the supercilious insolence which had been one of the chief causes of discontent with the British garrisons.

Rochambeau, as has been seen, had determined to remain on the defensive until reinforcements should arrive, the French fleet be augmented to superiority over the English, or the British forces at New York be decreased by detachments to the southward. In the beginning of September news was received that de Guichen's squadron had been seen on the southern coast, and de Ternay entertained hopes of relief. Concert of action was now necessary. Clinton's quiet relieving Washington of the embarrassment he had felt of leaving camp, he wrote to Rochambeau, proposing an interview at Hartford on the 20th of September. The conference was gladly accepted, and took place as appointed. Knox, Lafayette and M. de Gouvion, a French officer, Chief of Engineers, were present with Washington, while the Marquis de Chastellux appeared with the French commander; a plan of operations was discussed and agreed upon, but was frustrated in the very moment of its conception by confirmation of the news of the arrival at New York of Admiral Rodney, from the West Indies, with a fleet of twenty-one vessels. The commanders hastily returned to their posts. The French forces had been left under the command of the Baron de Vioménil, who, extremely uneasy, had sent express after express to urge the return of his superiors. At the Hartford interview Washington was attended by six of his Aids, among whom were MacHenry and Hamilton, and Rochambeau by his Aids, the Counts de Fersen, Dumas and de Damas. The interview, quotes Bancroft, "was a genuine festival for the French, who were impatient to see the hero of liberty." De Fersen describes him as "illustrious, if not unique in our age. His fine and majestic face, while mild and frank, reflects his moral qualities. He looks the hero; he is very cold, speaks but little, but is polite and frank. An air of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and renders him yet more interesting."

Towards the close of September Admiral Rodney arrived off Newport. During the inaction of Arbuthnot the allies had strained every nerve to strengthen their position. Several works were thrown up at Brenton's Point and on the Conanicut and Race Islands, and armed with thirty-six and twenty-four pounders. The fire from these batteries crossing with that from the vessels secured the principal passages. After reconnoitering the position, the British Admiral abandoned the idea of an attack, and returned to New York. In November

Admiral Rodney set sail again for the Antilles, leaving twelve vessels to Admiral Arbuthnot, who took station in Gardner's Bay to watch the motions of the French fleet.

The monotony of the camp was occasionally relieved. On the 2d August the French were interested by the arrival of nineteen Indian warriors. This deputation had been arranged by General Schuyler in the hope of detaching the savage tribes from the English, and strengthening their union with the allies. During the colonial wars the French and the Iroquois had maintained friendly relations. Thirteen were selected from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras; the other five were Caghnawagas from the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal. They were accompanied by Mr. Deane as interpreter. The Canada Indians asked to hear mass on their arrival. Rochambeau received them with attentive ceremony and entertained them at dinner, on which occasion Blanchard says "they behaved themselves well, and ate cleanly enough." General Heath also gave them what he styles a "sumptuous treat." After dinner they performed their war dances before the officers of the armies to the delight of the French, who had never witnessed a similar performance. On the afternoon of Thursday, the 24th August, they were invited to witness a grand review of the French army, preceded by alternate discharges of cannon from the batteries in and around the town, and a *feu de joie* from the troops. Nothing, wrote an eye witness, could exceed the fine appearance of the troops, or the universal satisfaction of the great concourse of spectators.

The next day, Friday the 25th, the birth of His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., was celebrated with great pomp. The ships of war were ornamented by a display of the colors of the different maritime powers, and fired a salute on the occasion. The French transports were also decorated with colors, and fired a salute in honor of the day. Never before had the birthday of a Catholic king or French monarch been celebrated in a town of protestant Englishmen; no more remarkable illustration of the change which had taken place in American sentiments; perhaps the initial dawn of the religious toleration now the just pride of the American nation. And not at Newport only, over which the white flag of France, floating gaily in the summer breeze, waved its protecting folds, but in every city not occupied by the enemy, and in the American camp, then pitched at Orangetown, similar honors were paid, while at Philadelphia the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Ambassador, gave an elegant entertainment, at which, amid great enthusiasm, toasts were pledged to the King, the United States and the commanders of the combined armies.

After dining on board the *Duc de Bourgogne* with the Admiral the Indians took their leave on the 2d September. Before they left the camp they were duly harangued by Rochambeau. They went away laden with presents, among which some red French blankets which greatly pleased them. On the 2d October the Chevalier de la Luzerne paid a visit to the camp. On the 6th a mock battle was fought on the island between a detachment of the French army and Colonel Greene's Continental regiment, to the interest and amusement of the spectators. The Indians marvelled much at the discipline of the French, and to find even the apples in the orchards untouched; all accounts concur in their remarkable respect for private property.

At the Hartford conference it was decided to send a trusty messenger to the French Court to hasten the despatch of the reinforcements and money to pay the troops, and the Vicomte de Rochambeau, Colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, who was serving on the staff of his father, was selected for this delicate mission. On the 28th October, a gale of wind having dispersed the blockading squadron, La Perouse took advantage of the occasion, went out with the *Amazone*, and although hotly pursued, and losing her mainmast, got safely through. This was the La Perouse later famous for his voyages and discoveries.

The approach of winter brought with it new duties. The wood on the island having all been cut down and consumed it was impossible to hut the troops. Arrangements were made with the State authorities by which the damaged houses should be repaired at French expense and occupied as winter quarters. Twenty thousand livres, says Rochambeau in his memoirs, were spent in these repairs.

The corps took possession of their quarters in November; the regiment Bourbonnais first, the others in succession. The cavalry of de Lauzun's legion, with the artillery horses, was sent into Connecticut, where forage was plenty, to the Lebanon barracks. The Duke de Lauzun, who was a universal favorite, gave a ball in Providence on his way through on the 9th; de Chastellux followed him on the 12th; he was on a visit to Washington's camp; soon after the Marquis de Laval, the Baron de Custine and the Count de Deux-Ponts went on a tour to the interior. The Vicomte de Noailles and the Count de Damas also visited Washington at his headquarters at New Windsor, and were charmed with their reception. Rochambeau occupied himself in looking for quarters for the second division when it should appear, and passed through the towns of New London, Norwich and Windham in Connecticut, paying a visit to Lauzun at Lebanon upon his journey.

On his return to camp he found his fellow-commander, de Ternay, ill of a fever, but no alarming symptoms showing themselves, he continued his tour as far as Boston. While he was absent de Ternay fell a victim to his disease. He was taken on shore on the 14th, and died in the Hunter house on the 15th of December. On the 16th, the day being remarkably fine, the Admiral was buried with great pomp. The cortège was the most imposing ever seen in the streets of Newport. The land forces were all under arms; the sailors bore the coffin on their shoulders; at the grave the priests, nine in number, chanted the funeral service as the corpse was slowly consigned to the earth in the cemetery of Trinity Church. In 1785 an elegant monument was erected over the remains by order of the King of France. It was composed of a large and beautiful slab of Egyptian marble, with an inscription in gold. Below the inscription and between the brackets is an escutcheon charged with the insignia of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. The slab was designed for the interior of the church, but as no suitable place could be found for it within the building, it was set over the grave, where it gradually crumbled under the exposure. It was first erected on the west side of the gate, but its position was changed in 1794 at the expense of the officers of the frigate *Meduse*. In 1873 it was restored at the expense of the United States, an appropriation of eight hundred dollars being unanimously voted for the purpose. This act of national patriotism was the occasion of an agreeable correspondence between the governments of the two countries. The restoration was executed under the direction of the Marquis de Noailles, then the French Minister to the United States, and the slab transferred to the vestibule of the church, where it now is. A granite stone was placed upon the tomb, in which lie the bones of the Admiral, with a short inscription, which, like that on the monument, is in Latin. The Admiral died, honored and beloved by friend and foe. Rivington announces his death in the *Royal Gazette* as that "of an officer of distinguished reputation; a gentleman of most excellent heart and amiable disposition; * * * a real ornament of the elegant nation from which he was derived." The command of the fleet now devolved on the Chevalier Destouches, the senior officer of the squadron, who carried out to the letter the instructions of his predecessor.

About Christmas a vessel from Nantes brought word of a change in the French Ministry, M. de Castries succeeding de Sartines as Minister of the Marine. This news was of the highest importance. To understand its full significance a short retrospect is necessary. De

Sartines, who had been the Minister of Marine from the 24th August, 1774, and a member of the King's Council since 1775, showed great capacity in building up the French navy, and but little skill in the use of it. He had neither the prestige nor the power to reform its innumerable administrative abuses. Accused by Neckar of irregularity in his accounts by an expenditure of an excess of twenty millions over the extraordinary credit granted the marine by the act of the 14th October, 1780, he had been dismissed from his post. His successor, the Marquis de Castries, had greatly distinguished himself as a military officer at the battle of Clostercamp, but had, as yet, shown no administrative powers. The importance of the change was the triumph of Neckar, whose fame as a successful financier was in its full meridian. Appointed Assistant Treasurer in 1776, and Director-General of the Finances in 1777, he was thoroughly familiar with the condition of France. He now undertook a thorough reform in the administration. In a *compte-rendu* of the expenses and receipts of the kingdom he showed an excess of revenue under the new regime, and convinced the capitalists of Europe of the solidity of France. The effect was instantaneous; his loans were freely taken, and the operations of the navy and army, which had languished, were at once resumed. The plans of the ministry were not yet made known, however, to the commanders in America. Indeed they were not even communicated with.

The weary hours of waiting for reinforcement were occasionally relieved by social gaieties. On the evening of the 3d January, 1781, the officers of the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts gave an elegant ball to the ladies of Newport. The Duke de Deux-Ponts was himself the Colonel of the regiment which bore his name. The command belonged in his family, that of the Dukes of Deux-Ponts-Bischweiler of Alsace, where his men were enlisted. His brothers William and Charles were Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the regiment. Where this entertainment was given does not appear. The great hall, constructed by the orders of Rochambeau for the assemblages of the officers, was not completed till later in the month. When finished it was their place of nightly resort.

On the 14th Rochambeau feeling some coolness in Washington's tone, dispatched de Fersen to "inquire into the cause of the dissatisfaction, heal the breach if possible, and if grave, inform him of it." It could not have been material or of long duration. About the same time de Lauzun, hearing of the revolt of the Continental troops, who had not been paid, hurried to Rochambeau to arrange for

a loan to America, but as yet no letter had been received from the Ministry, and the French commanders themselves were embarrassed. Indeed they had been compelled to abandon making full payment for their purchases in coin; they now gave one-half in Continental paper. The expedition had been ten months absent when, late in January, the frigate *Astrée* arrived at Boston with official news of the change in the Ministry, and word from the Marquis de Castries that the idea of sending a second division was abandoned. De Lauzun was indignant, and wrote a peremptory letter, demanding the men of his regiment, of which he was the proprietor.

On the 21st January Generals Knox and Lincoln and Colonel Laurens, son of the Envoy to France, who fell into the hands of the British, and was still confined in the Tower of London, visited the camp. Colonel Laurens was an Aid-de-Camp of Washington, and on his way to France with a special mission to the Court. Knox was particularly interested in the artillery, with which the French were abundantly supplied. In February, the weather becoming cold, the officers took great enjoyment in sleighing, and were astonished at the speed with which they were carried over the smooth, hard snow. On Tuesday, the 6th, the anniversary of the ever-memorable day when the Treaty of Alliance was signed, the Baron and Count Vioménil, young men who are described as of resplendent beauty, gave an elegant ball to the ladies of the town. The lady of General Greene, whose operations at the South were the theme of absorbing interest, graced the occasion with her presence. A letter written on the occasion says, the "decent gaiety and hilarity which characterized the assembly, afforded a convincing proof of the general satisfaction the alliance caused to both nations."

While the French fleet rode gently and safely at anchor behind the sheltering rocks of the Narragansett coast, the blockading squadron fared badly. Caught at sea in a heavy January gale, Arbuthnot lost one of his best vessels, another was dismantled, and a third driven far from shore. Learning of this, Captain Destouches, who was as ambitious as well as able officer, determined to take advantage of the temporary superiority this incident afforded him, and an expedition was rapidly combined. Dumas was sent to New London on the Connecticut shore to watch the British fleet which lay in serene quiet off the point of Long Island. Towards the close of February the French camp rung loud with the "note of preparation." The grenadiers and chasseurs held themselves in readiness for a start, and the fleet prepared for their embarkation.

In March happened an event in the history of the French in Newport, the influence of which upon the French troops can hardly be estimated now. The fame of Washington had reached the ear of the humblest attendant in the allied force. In the traditions of the army the hero of the French war was not forgotten. Now they not only looked upon him as the "principal personage on the American Continent," but, as one of their officers happily expressed it, "the strongest support of Liberty." On the 6th, a day ever memorable in the history of the town, he arrived in Newport. About two o'clock in the afternoon he reached Conanicut, where he found in waiting the barge of the French Admiral, which conveyed him directly to the Duc de Bourgogne. Here he was met by Rochambeau and the general officers of the army and fleet. On leaving the ship a salute was fired. Landing at Barney's ferry, the corner of the Long Wharf and Washington street, he was again met by the French officers, and escorted to the headquarters of Rochambeau in Clarke street, receiving the same honors that would have been paid to a Marshal of France or a Prince of the blood royal. His route was lined with the French troops, three deep on either side, in close order the entire distance. In the evening the fleet in the harbor and the entire city was illuminated, the town council having voted candles to all who were unable to provide themselves; a procession marched through the streets. In front walked thirty boys, each bearing a candle fixed on a staff, then Generals Washington and Rochambeau, their aids and officers, followed by a large concourse of citizens. The night was clear and calm, and the scene imposing and brilliant. Passing through the principal streets, the commanders returned to Headquarters.

Washington's purpose in visiting Newport was to witness the departure of the French fleet and detachment, which was leaving for the Chesapeake to cooperate in the movement of Lafayette against Arnold, and to arrange a scheme of concert. The troops, twelve hundred in number, one thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty artillery, were embarked on the day of his arrival. M. de Vioménil, who commanded the land forces, was on board the Duc de Bourgogne with the officers of the grenadier company of Bourbonnais. This vessel continued to be, as under de Ternay, the flagship. On the 8th Captain Destouches led the squadron from the bay. Washington and Major-General Howe, who accompanied him, set off on their return to headquarters, and were taken leave of with the same form and ceremony that marked their reception. The French army was

paraded in Broad street, and lined the road for some distance beyond the town, the general officers in the center. As Washington passed down the lines, he received every honor known to military usage, and as he reached Tammany Hall a salute of thirteen guns from the French artillery.

The expedition of Destouches was not successful. Pursued by Arbuthnot, whose superiority of speed gave him the weather guage, he was forced to an engagement, in which, though the honors of war were with the French, some of their vessels suffered so severely that he returned to Newport to repair damages, while Arbuthnot made all speed to the Chesapeake, which he effectually blocked. The superior sailing qualities of the English again on this critical occasion gave them the advantage. Destouches reached Newport on the afternoon of the 26th March.

The month of April passed without incident; its quiet was only broken by the rumors of war from the Carolinas. The officers in their diaries notice the delightful weather, mild as summer. Anxious looks were turned seaward for the long-expected second division. The French officers established a Masonic lodge, over which M. de Janscourt presided, and initiations were frequent.

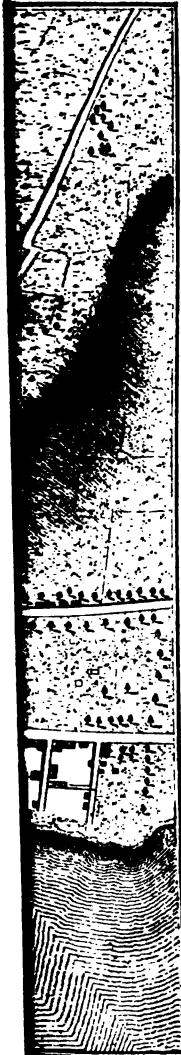
Early in May (8th) the Concorde, commanded by M. de Tanauran, arrived at Boston with the Count de Barras, Chef d'Escadre, appointed to succeed de Ternay. With him came the Vicomte de Rochambeau, returned from his mission. On the Concorde came also Baron Cromot Du Bourg, who joined the Staff of Rochambeau. The Vicomte de Rochambeau brought news of the sailing from Brest, on the 22d March, of the Count de Grasse with a strong squadron, escorting a convoy of fifteen transports, laden with supplies, and having on board two companies of artillery, and five hundred men to fill up the regiments. Though this was not what Rochambeau expected, or had been promised as a condition of his command, he made no complaints, but determined to use his force to the best advantage. All of the restrictions imposed upon him by de Sartines were now removed, de Barras bringing him *full power* from the new Ministry to act as he chose. He determined to act at once. Orders were given to get the army ready for movement; the light artillery and heavy equipments, the impediments of the army, were already in Providence, and the general officers began to complete their supplies. It was high time. The long inaction had relaxed the discipline of the troops; their mental tension also was overstrained. Quarrels among the officers were frequent. The higher officers were discontented with Rochambeau,

whose reticence they attributed to want of confidence in themselves, and only their respect, good breeding and desire for the general good restrained the expression of their grievances. They were extremely dissatisfied also at being compelled to recruit the fleet from their small command. Five hundred of the land force were put on board the armed vessels which were ordered to sea to meet the expected convoy. Even the amiable de Fersen confesses that he was weary of his commander, notwithstanding his attention to himself, and looked on everything with a jaundiced eye. Nobly later did he repair the injustice of his frank criticism, written, it must be remembered, for his father's eye. Rochambeau was now to show himself the complete soldier, rapid in action as he was prudent in council.

The despatches from France rendered a further conference of the commanders necessary, and Rochambeau requested an interview with Washington without delay. They met at Weathersfield, near Hartford, on the 21st May; Washington was accompanied by General Knox and Brigadier-General Du Portail; Rochambeau, by the Chevalier de Chastellux. Admiral de Barras was detained at Newport by the presence of the British fleet, which had again appeared off Block Island in force. On the 22d a plan of the summer campaign, which included a general offensive movement, was agreed upon, and the next day de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, where he arrived on the 26th. On the succeeding days he made arrangements for a movement of the troops.

June opened with its usual charm. The island is at its loveliest when sea and land are warmed with the first blush of summer; no need to sigh for the green fields of Normandy, or the clear skies of France at this charming season. At a council of war held on board the Admiral's ship on the 6th it was resolved that, on the departure of the troops, only a small guard should be left to hold the town, and that the fleet, which it had been proposed to take to Boston, should remain at their Newport anchorage. On the 7th of June Admiral de Barras gave a grand farewell dinner on board the Duc de Bourgogne. There were sixty people present, among whom many ladies from Newport and the vicinity. The quarter-deck was canopied with sails, and a handsome hall arranged. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay, was present. He had just returned from an interview with Washington, with whom he had agreed upon several points of detail.

On the 9th all was ready, and marching orders were issued. On the morning of the 10th the first division, composed of the regiments of



*Key late Collector
part of an Afri-
cans shooting Ten poor*

Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, moved from Newport, under the command of Baron de Vioménil. They reached Providence in the evening, too late to mark out a camp, and were lodged by the town authorities in some empty houses, of which there seem to have been numbers in the patriot towns. The next day the regiment of Deux-Ponts went into camp on the heights which overlook the city, and the brigades of Soissonnais and Saintonge, which arrived the same day, took post on their left. All the heavy artillery was left in the batteries. The troops left in Newport consisted of four hundred recruits, which had arrived from France, a few pieces of artillery and a thousand local militia; all under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier of the forces. De Choisy was an officer of brilliant reputation for courage. The Commissary-General of the French, M. Claude Blanchard, who had taken entire charge of this department of the service after the return of M. de Corny to France in February, was sent forward. On the 11th M. de Rochambeau and the entire staff passed through Providence to the camp.

The army remained in camp eight days while horses were collected for the artillery, wagons for the train and oxen to draw them, and a hospital and ambulance service organized. The arrival at Boston on the 11th of the ship-of-war *Sagittaire*, Captain Montluc, a convoy of fifteen ships with six hundred and ninety recruits, and money for the land and naval forces, enabled de Rochambeau to bring his preparations to a happy close.

On the 16th June the Baron de Vioménil held a general review, and the army moved in the following order: on the 18th, the regiment de Bourbonnais, under de Rochambeau and M. de Chastellux; the 19th, the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts, under the Baron de Vioménil; the 20th, the regiment of Soissonnais, under the Count de Vioménil; the 21st, the regiment de Saintonge, under the Count de Custine—successively left the camp, and moved by easy marches to the appointed rendezvous in Westchester county, preserving between them the distance of a day's march. By order of M. Béville, the Quartermaster-General, the Count de Dumas preceded the columns to point out the camps and positions the army was successively to occupy.

The Count de Grasse, secure in his strength on the Southern Station, left Admiral de Barras free to act at his own discretion. His own judgment leaned to an expedition toward Newfoundland, which was within the instructions of the French Ministry of Marine; but in view of the strenuous opposition of Washington and Rochambeau, with great

generosity he sacrificed his own opinions, and taking on board the heavy artillery and the remaining troops, sailed on the 25th August (1781), with eight ships-of-the-line, four frigates, ten transports and eight American vessels, for Chesapeake Bay, which he reached in safety.

There is an enchainment and interdependence in the order of successive human events which occasionally seems too marvellous to be other than the operation of a preconcerted providential scheme. The philosophy of history consists in the study of these and their proper arrangement in the order of cause and of effect. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the fall of the year 1781, may be directly traced to the defection of Arnold in the fall of 1780. To reward the traitor, Clinton was led to organize a Southern expedition to raid and harrass Virginia, to the command of which, with his fresh rank of Brigadier-General in the British army, Arnold was assigned. His new-fledged zeal showed itself in deeds of destruction, so unnecessary and atrocious that Washington determined to check him. This was the occasion of the Southern expedition, which Lafayette led to the Chesapeake, and later, after its failure to accomplish its direct purpose, of his operations against Cornwallis. The original error of Clinton in placing an important force beyond his control, led to the despatch of further reinforcements. The scenic theatre of the war was shifted from the Northern to the Southern States, in changes dramatic in their rapidity, until Washington and de Rochambeau appear on the stage in an act of final grandeur, and the curtain falls upon the triumph of liberty and the independence of a continent.

III—RETURN OF THE FRENCH TO RHODE ISLAND—1782

When next the French saw Rhode Island, they came crowned with laurels. They were again the guests of the city of Providence in the winter of 1782. They arrived on the 10th November, and the main body remained until near the end of the month, when they marched to Boston, where they were embarked on the squadron under M. de Vaudreuil, which set sail on the 24th December. The Baron de Vioménil commanded the troops. The second division, says the historian, Arnold, remained after the first in their quarters, on the east side of the Pawtucket turnpike, just north of the city line. The troops were quartered in barracks erected for the purpose in North Prov-

idence; and the officers distributed through the town. A list of the houses occupied by the French officers in Newport has been mentioned. There fortunately remains also in the possession of Mr. Drowne, whose family are in possession of many delightful reminders of the French residence, a similar list of the houses occupied in Providence. It is not dated, but certainly belonged to the year 1782. The Count de Rochambeau was the guest of ex-Governor Bowen; the Intendent, M. de Tarlé, was quartered with Mr. John Brown; the Baron de Vioménil, with Mr. Joseph Brown; the Chevalier de Chastellux, with Mr. Joseph Russell; de Ronchamps, the Provost Marshal, with ex-Governor Cooke; the Count de Vioménil, with Colonel Nightingale. The streets, in which these residences were, are not otherwise indicated than as on "this side" and "beyond the bridge." Providence at this time was a town of small importance. Even in 1792 it was described as having only two streets and but few attractions, and gave no promise of the prosperity and elegance which it has now reached. But it was then, as now, inhabited by an orderly and refined population, and then, as now, was noted far and wide for its hospitality. To Rochambeau, who came with the troops, the Government of Rhode Island voted on the 27th an address of thanks, and the Count replied on the following day.

Notwithstanding their long march the troops were in admirable condition, the officers well mounted and elegantly equipped; their chapeaux ornamented with white cockades; their dress, white cloth faced with the colors of their regiment. The men presented a gay appearance in their brilliant uniforms; Deux-Ponts, in white; Saintonge, in white and green; Bourbonnais, in black and red; all in cocked hats with pompons, and the hair in cue; epaulets and cross-belts, from which their accoutrements hung. The artillery wore blue with red facings, white spatterdashes and red pompons, short Roman swords at their sides and firelocks in slings. Thus Mr. Drake, in his recent history of Roxbury, describes their attire when they passed through that town on their way to embark at Boston. To this description may be added that the Soissonnais wore pink facings and grenadier caps with white and pink plumes. During their stay at Providence the officers did not forget their friends at Newport; de Fersen particularly notes a visit to his old acquaintances.

To reach the French frigate, which was to convey him to his native country, de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Virginia with the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Béville, M. de Choisy, the whole of the

staff and the aids. The vessel, the *Emeraude*, lay at Annapolis, whence she set sail with her precious freight the 8th January. On their arrival in France, all of the general officers obtained high promotion and favor from the Court of Versailles. Rochambeau received the Cross of St. Louis, and was made Marshal of France. The Baron de Vioménil was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. M. M. de Lafayette, de Choisy, de Béville, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, M. M. de Rostaing and d'Autichamp to that of Maréchal-de-Camp.

The sequel is a chequered story. In the terrible political earthquake that shook the continent, and of which the American revolution was but the premonitory upheaval, all lost their fortunes, many their lives. D'Estaing, after serving the republic with distinction, fell on the scaffold; the Duke de Lauzun met a similar fate; so did the Baron de Custine; the chivalrous de Fersen, worthy peer of Sidney or Bayard, after risking his life a thousand times in the service of the King and Queen, whose trusted friend and agent he was during their imprisonment, was torn to pieces by a Stockholm mob. The Vicomte de Rochambeau fell at the battle of Leipsic. The Marquis de Vioménil, badly injured in the defence of the persons of the royal family, died of his wounds. His brother, the Count, gave his sword to the royal cause; at the Restoration he was made Marshal of France and Marquis. Rochambeau himself was confined by Robespierre and released at his death. The Count de Damas, who was with the King in his flight to Varennes, narrowly escaped execution. Duportail was condemned, but fled to America, and died at sea on his return in 1794. One of the brothers Berthier became the celebrated Marshal of Napoleon; he was murdered at Bamberg. Dumas was President of the Assembly, General of Division and high in confidence with the Constitutional Monarchy of 1830. The figures of these men are familiar, preserved in the life-like portraits of the great historical picture of the surrender of Cornwallis. Trumbull visited Paris for the express purpose of obtaining correct likenesses. Rochambeau, in other pictures, has the air of a *gentilhomme campagnard*, not unusual to the French noble of the last century.

The services and character of Rochambeau have not had their due honor in the annals of our revolution. The United States owe to him an immeasurable debt of gratitude. He alone, as de Fersen frankly admits in his correspondence, could have brought the allied operations to a successful termination, and kept an unbroken harmony between the troops and population of races so opposite and hitherto so antagonistic.

Left for nearly a year without assistance or one word of counsel by the French Ministry, which was itself passing through vital changes; subjected in a foreign land to reproaches and importunities, to which he would not or could not reply; distrusted even by his own officers, with whom his credit was impaired by the negligence of his Government, his serenity was unbroken, and he maintained his authority without stooping to an explanation even to the highest of his general officers. Sufficient to himself in his large equipoise, he kept his own counsel even from his own military family, and held the honor of his country high, unimpeached and unimpeachable by friend or foe. In his character there was a reserved power, the unerring accompaniment of greatness. He had every quality of a commander, a leader of men; prudence in counsel, activity in preparation, precision and certainty in execution. Though not averse to argument, his judgment was thoroughly independent. He was moderate and courteous, as he was wise. To all these qualities, he added that of a bonhomie, which endeared him to his officers, and made him the idol of his troops. The gratitude of the United States for France, was early crystallized in an attachment for Lafayette, whose youthful and generous ardor touched the heart of the people; but not even his influence and service were more important to the cause of independence than the effective cooperation of Rochambeau in the very crisis of the nation's destiny. His fame grows as his character is studied, and his achievements are examined. The sober judgment of history will record that his services to America were of inestimable value.

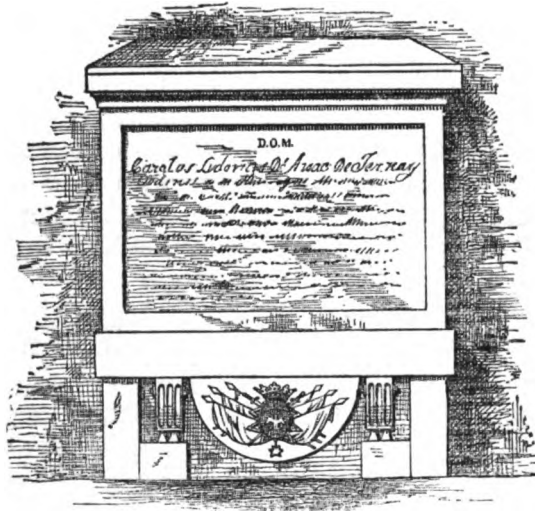
Closing this sketch of the sojourn of the French in Rhode Island, the delightful spot which, even in the last century, before the finger of art had touched with its grace the work of nature, was already known as the "Garden of America," the sentiment which prompted the opening paragraph springs up with fresh vigor; a sentiment of affectionate attachment for France. Rapid communication has rendered her beautiful land familiar to thousands of our people. The distant dream of the last century has become an easy reality in this. The monthly packet communication, which Louis the Sixteenth established at the instance of Lafayette, has grown to a large and regular steam service. Thanks to these facilities of travel, America sees France no longer through the dim jealousy of English glasses, but with her own clear eyes.

The matchless cultivation of the soil of France, the patient industry of her agriculture, the marvels of her intelligent manufacture, the triumphs of her taste and ornamental skill have long since placed her in

the front rank of western nations. But not until now has she shown herself to be first also in the higher plane of political economy and political government. In less than a decade, by a financial miracle, she has repaired the damage of destructive war, and resumed her position at the very pinnacle of European credit. This, an easy tale, runs trippingly in narration.

How describe her present triumph! how measure the majestic grandeur of her rise from anarchy to freedom! how mark the logical sequence of her political evolutions, the serenity of her leaders, the moderation of her people, the progress of liberal opinion, the final complete establishment of popular government! The dream of the patriots of 1789 who, on the Champ de Mars, pledged themselves and their generations, on the Altar of Liberty, to the cause of freedom, has, after nearly a century of struggle and blood, been fully realized. The Republic lives. The alliance of the last century is revived. The weak confederation of American States has grown into a colossal nation, the ancient monarchy of St. Louis is transformed into a popular government. Common institutions bring with them common sympathies, common aspirations. The two republics now march together, allied nations, under the colors of liberty in the ways of peace. So may they march forever!

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



MEMORIAL TABLET TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY

APPENDIX

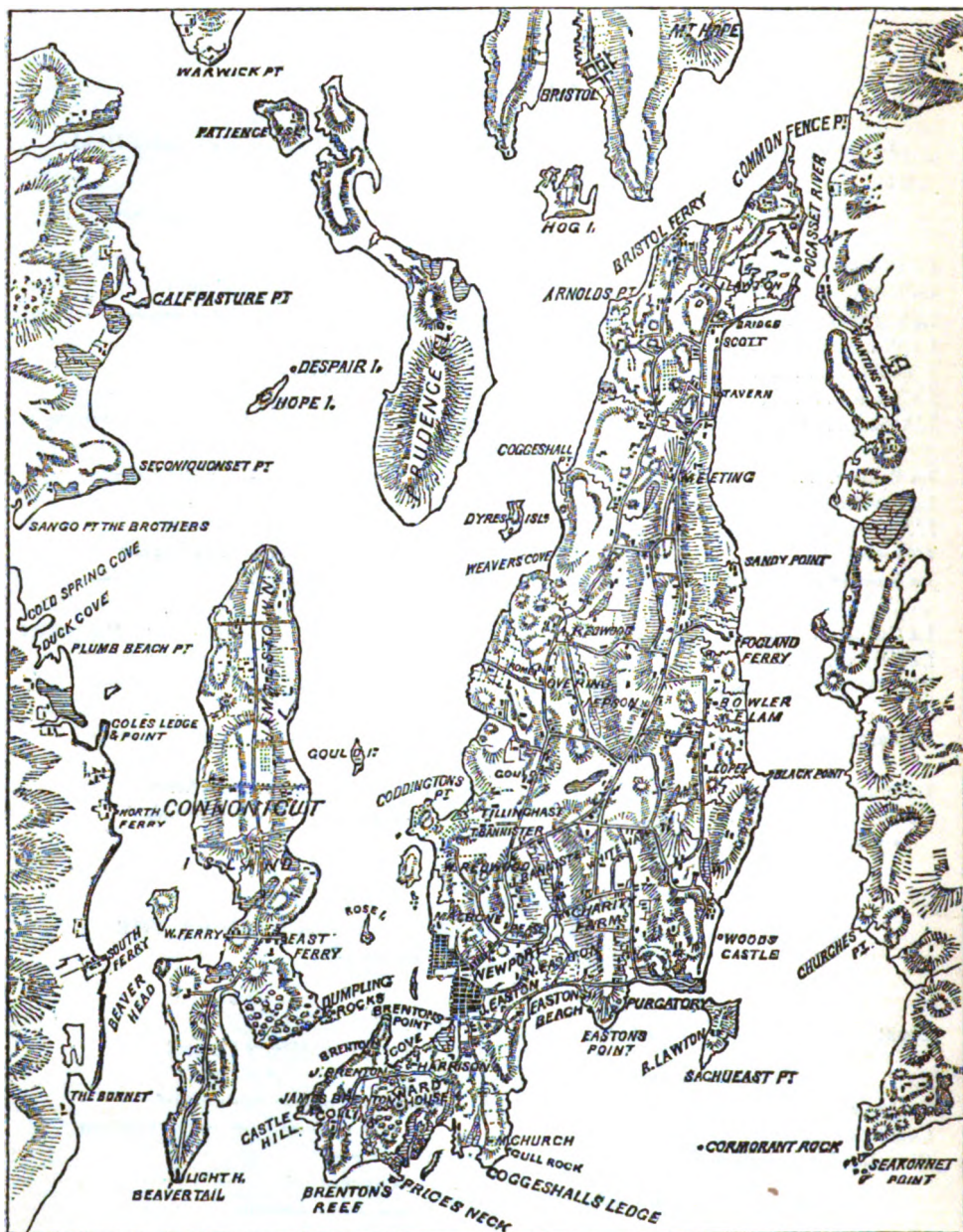
LIST OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT RHODE ISLAND UNDER ADMIRAL DE TERNAY AND M. DESTOUCHES

VESSELS	GUNS	COMMANDERS
<i>SHIPS</i>		
Le Duc de Bourgogne.....	80	Chevalier de Ternay
Le Neptune.....	74	Destouches
Le Conquérant.....	74	La Grandière
La Provence.....	64	Lombard
L'Eveillè.....	64	De Tilly
Le Jason.....	64	La Clocheterie
L'Ardent.....	64	Chevalier de Marigny
<i>FRIGATES</i>		
La Bellone.....	—	_____
La Surveillante.....	40	Sillart
L'Amazone.....	—	La Perouse
L'Hermione*.....	36	De la Touche
La Sibylle*.....	36	_____
<i>CUTTERS</i>		
La Guêpe.....	—	Chevalier de Maulevrier
Le Serpent.....	—	_____
The Pelican (American).....	20	_____
<i>HOSPITAL SHIP</i>		
Le Fantasque, (en flûte).....	—	_____
<i>ARMED SHIPS</i>		
Le Bruen *.....	—	Des Arros
Le Complais *.....	—	De Noulds

* These from Almon's Remembrancer, X, 285.

OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

<i>Commander-in-Chief</i>	<i>Intendant</i>
Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General	De Tarlé, Intendant
	Blanchard, Commissary General
<i>Marchaux de Camp</i>	<i>Artillery</i>
Baron de Vioménil	D'Aboville, Commander-in-Chief
Count de Vioménil	<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Rochambeau</i>
Chevalier de Chastellux	MM. de Fersen
	de Damas
<i>Quarrier Master General</i>	Charles de Lameth
De Béville, Brigadier	De Closen
De Choisy, Brigadier	De Dumas
Louis Alexandre Berthier	De Laubardières
Caesar Berthier	De Vauban



NARRAGANSETT BAY

AFTER A TOPOGRAPHICAL CHART BY CHARLES BLASKOWITZ—1777

Aids-de-Camp to M. de Viomenil

MM. de Chabannes
De Pangé
Charles d'Olonne

Aids-de-Camp to M. de Chastellux

MM. de Montesquiou
Lynch

*COLONELS**Bourbonnais*

Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci
Vicomte de Rochambeau. (Second Colonel)

Royal Deux-Ponts

Count Christian de Deux-Ponts
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (Second Colonel)

Saintonge

Count de Custine
Vicomte de Chartres

Soissonnais

M. de Saint-Mesme
Vicomte de Noailles

Lausun's Legion

Duke de Lauzun
Count Arthur Dillon

Artillery

M. Nadal, Director of the Park
Lazié, Major

Engineers

MM. Desandrouins, Commander
Querenet
Ch d'Ogré
Carnvaque
D'Opterre
Turpin

Medical Department

MM. Coste, Physician in Chief
Robillard, Surgeon in Chief
Danre, Commissary
Demars, Director of the Hospitals

Paymaster

M. Boulay

Staff

Chevalier de Tarlé,	} Major-General's Aids
De Menonville,	
De Béville, junior,	} Quarter Master General's Aids
Collot,	

QUARTERS OCCUPIED WITHIN THE TOWN OF NEWPORT BY THE ARMY
UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
IN WINTER QUARTERS, 1780 - 1781

NAMES OF OFFICERS	STREETS	AT THE HOUSE OF
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HEADQUARTERS

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, General.....	New Lane,	302...	Wm. Vernon
De Tarlé, Intendant.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Baron de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.....	ditto	274...	Joseph Wanton
Chevalier de Chatellux, ditto, Acting Major } General..	Spring street,	91...	Capt Mandaly
Count de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.....	Thames street,	274...	Joseph Wanton
De Choisy, Brigadier.....	Water street,	602...	Jac. Rod Reveria

ARMY STAFF

De Béville, Quarter Master Genl.....Congress street, 290...Moses Levi

ADJUTANT QUARTER MASTERS

Vicomte de Rochambeau	New Lane,	302...	Wm Vernon
Collot	Broad street,	340...	John Wanton
De Béville.....	Congress street,	290...	Moses Levi

1782. His Most Christian Majesty To W. Verron Esq^r.

Dec^r. ... To damages sustained in his House at Newport
on Rhode Island, occupied by His Excellency

Gen^l. Brachmbeau - viz.

Floors, Wainscot, Hangings, Paint, Windows,

Walls, ~~Wainscot~~, Marble Hearths, and in the

Heave & Building Throughout; To be made

good, by the Summe of C^{ts} 135⁰⁰ -

agreement: value \$50 doll^s - 20 of 2m. \$135⁰⁰ -

To one year Rent of the same 000⁰⁰ -

Summe \$ 135⁰⁰ -

Corors Excepted Boston 12th Dec^r 1782,

W^m Verron



AIDS OF THE MAJOR GENERALS OF INFANTRY

De Ménonville.....	Spring street,	90...	Capt George
De Tarlé.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Dubouchet.....	ditto	265...	Capt Storey

ENGINEERS

Desandrouins, Col. & Commandant.....	Thames street,	28...	Col John Malbone
De Quérénel, Lieut Col.....	ditto	83...	Colonel Malbone
De Palys, Major.....	ditto	56...	Mrs Gidley
De Doyré, Captain.....	Mill street,	201...	Henry Ward
Crubliez d'Opterre, ditto.....	ditto	202...	Pardon Tillinghast
De Gazarac, ditto.....	ditto	202...	ditto
Baron de Turpin, ditto.....	Thames street,	135...	Wm Coggeshall
De Plancher ditto....	Thames street,	135...	Wm Coggeshall

ARTILLERY

D'Aboville, Col Commandant.....	Thames street,	10...	John Overing
De Lazier, Waggon Master.....	ditto	23...	Wm Cyles
Maudnit, Adjutant.....	ditto	23...	ditto

ADMINISTRATION

Blanchard, Commissary General.....	Thames street,	78...	Mrs Cozen
De Corny, Commissary of War.....	Thames street,	124...	Simon Puse
De Villemanzy, ditto.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Gau, Commissary of War and Artillery.....	ditto	6...	Rebecca Rider

SECOND ARMY STAFF

Mullins, Capt of the Guides.....	Congress street,	286...	Mrs Mumford
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PROVOST

De Ronchamp, Provost.....	Plum street,	154...	John Honimans
The town Prison.....		385...	Mary Pinegas

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

Count de Fersen.....	New Lane,	299...	Robert Stevens
Marquis de Damas.....	ditto	299...	Robert Stevens
Chevalier de Lameth.....	Spring street,	339...	Joseph Antony
Dumas.....	Spring street,	339...	Joseph Antony
De Lauberdière.....	New Lane,	301...	Henry Potter
Baron de Closen.....	Idem	301...	Henry Potter

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF BARON DE VIOMESNIL

M. d'Angely.....	Spring street,	234...	Adam Ferguson
Chevalier de Viomesnil.....	Thames street,	277...	Gold Marsh
De Chabannes.....	Thames street,	150...	John Freebody
Brintoneau.....	Thames street,	150...	John Freebody
Vicomte Armand.....	Thames street,	277...	Gold Marsh
De Sauge.....	Idem	274...	Joseph Wanton
Brison.....	Idem	274...	Joseph Wanton

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHATTELLUX

De Lintz.....Lewis street, 115...Madame MacKay
 De Montesquiou.....Lewis street, 115... Idem

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE VIOMESNIL

D'Olonne, the elder.....[Lewis street] 271...Edward Hazard
 D'Olonne, the younger.....[Lewis street] 271...Edward Hazard
 Stack.....Spring street, 337...Wm Almy

AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY

Saumann.....Water street, 602...Jac Rod Reveria

AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE

De Béville.....Congress street, 290...Moses Levi

PAY MASTER

De Baulny, Pay Master of the Army.....Ruppock street, 314...Seixas & Levy

SUPPLIES

Danre, Superintendent.....Mill street, 162...Wm Coggeshall
 Morion, Cashier.....Thames street, 281...Dr Tillinghast
 Bourguin, Director.....Spring street, 108...Wm Gibbs
 Duval, Inspector.....Congress street, 237...Robert Lillibridge

HOSPITALS

De Mars, Superintendent.....Thames street, 123...James Taylor
 De Coste, Physician in chief.....Back street, 456...Wm Lindon
 Robillard, Surgeon in chief.....Thames street, 445...James Senter
 Abbé de Glesnon, Chaplain.....Spring street, 348...Widow Brayton

BUTCHER'S MEAT

Buret de Blegier, Superintendent.....Spring street, 158...Johetas Gibbs

FORAGE

Louis, Superintendent.....Thames street, 238...Gideon Lisson

CLOTHING

Martin, Store Keeper.....Long wharf.....Constant Tabor

REGIMENTS QUARTERED IN THE TOWN

COLONELS AND SUPERIOR OFFICERS

REGIMENT BOURBONNAIS

Marquis de Laval, Colonel.....High street, 223...Robinson
 Vicomte de Rochambeau, Second Colonel....New Lane, 302...Wm Vernon
 De Bressolles, Lieut Colonel.....Mill street, 195...Joseph Clark
 De Gambs, Major.....High street, 223...Robinson

REGIMENT ROYAL DEUX-PONTS

Count de Deux-Ponts, Colonel.....	Broad street,	530...	George Scott
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Second Col...	ditto	533...	Nathl Mumford
Baron d'Ezbeck, Lieut Col.....	Broad street,	401...	William Still
Desprez, Major.....	High street,	328...	Thomas Vernon

REGIMENT SOISSONNAIS

Marquis de St. Maime, Colonel.....	High street,	329...	Miss Coles
Vicomte de Noailles, Second Colonel.....	Water street,	614...	Thomas Robinson
D'Anselme, Lieut Colonel.....	Back street,	468...	William Cozzens
D'Espeyron, Major.....	Griffin street,	342...	Robert Lawton

REGIMENT SAINTONGE

Marquis de Custine, Colonel.....	[Griffin street],	312...	Joseph Durfey
Count de Charlus, Second Colonel.....	Point bridge street,	644...	Major Martin
De la Vattel, Lieut. Colonel.....	Water street,	603...	John Oldfield
De Fleury, Major... ..	Water street,	595...	Jeremiah Clark

CORPS OF ROYAL ARTILLERY, SECOND BATTALION, AUXONNE

De la Tour, Lieut Colonel.....	Spring street,	15...	William Lee
De Buzet, Brigadier in chief.....	Spring street,	62...	Joseph Tevady

SAPPERS AND MINERS

De Chazelles, Brigadier in chief.....	Thames street,	58...	Major Fairchilds
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WORKMEN

De la Chaise, Second Captain.....	Thames street,	73...	Abraham Redwood
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LAUZUN VOLUNTEERS

Duc de Lauzun, Colonel proprietor.....	Thames street,	264...	Deborah Hunter
Gugean, Lieut Colonel.....	At Mrs Harrison	...	Mrs. Harrison
De Scheldon.....	Alley Place Thames street,	248...	Jos Halliburton

THE NAVY

CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.....	} Water street,	608...	Col Walton
De Granchain, Major.....			
De Capellis, aid, Major.....			
Office of the Navy.....			
Destouches, Captain.....	Water street,	627...	William Redwood
De Lagrandière, Captain.....	ditto	212...	Francis Brinley
The Chevalier de Lombard, Captain.....	ditto	631...	Christopher Townsend
De la Vicquettes.....	ditto	630...	John Townsend
De Maulevrier.....	ditto	486...	Samuel Johnson
Naval Hospital.....	New Lane,	295...	Presbyterian Church
Naval Hospital.....	Mill street,	194...	Mrs Hopkins
Navy Artillery.....	{ Water street & Room- ers wharf, 611.... }		George Roomer

QUARTERS ASSIGNED WITHIN THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE TO THE
ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COUNT

DE ROCHAMBEAU, 1782

NAMES OF OFFICERS STREETS AT THE HOUSE OF

HEADQUARTERS

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, General. The main street near the bridge. Governor Bowen
de Tarlé, Intendent " . . . The main street, this side the bridge. John Brown
Baron de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp. The main street, this side the bridge. Jos Brown
Chevalier de Chatellux, Acting Major
General. The main street, this side the bridge. Jos Russel
Count de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp. The main street, this side the bridge. Col Nightingale
De Choisy, Brigadier. Next to the Town Hall. Col Bowen

ARMY STAFF

de Béville, Quarter Master General. . . Back street beyond the bridge. Theodore Foster
Vicomte de Rochambeau. Absent. { Aids to Quarter Mas-
ter General
Collot. Back street beyond the bridge. Capt Paul Allen
de Béville, Quarter Master General. . . Near the City Hall. Mr. Ben Cushing

AIDS

de Menonville The main street this side of bridge. . Cyprian Sterry
de Tarlé The main street, idem. Nath Angell
Dubouchet The main street beyond the bridge. . . Capt Creads

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Desandrouins, Col Com. The main street this side the bridge. John Clark
De Quérénel, Lieut Col. The main street beyond the bridge. . D Trusman
De Palys, Major The main street this side the bridge. Capt Dan Buklin
De Doyré, Captain. } The main street this side the bridge. Nath Angell
Crublier d'Opterre, Captain. }
De Gavarac, Captain. The main street beyond the bridge. . Hawkins
The Baron de Turpin, Captain. } The main street this side the bridge. Will Tyler
Deplancher, Lieutenant. }

ARTILLERY

D'Aboville, Colonel Commandant. . . . The main street beyond the bridge. . Will Tyler
De Lazier, Waggon Master. ditto Doctor Nightingale
Manduit, 1st Aid. } The main street beyond the bridge. . Dan Jackson
Romanay, 1st Aid. }

ADMINISTRATION

Blanchard, Commissary of War. The main street beyond the bridge. . Will Wheaton
De Villemazy, ditto The main street near the bridge. . . . Montfort
Gau, ditto & of the Artillery. Back street beyond the bridge. Widow Clark

SECOND ARMY STAFF

Mullins, Captain of the Guides. { The main street in front of the Town } John Smith.
Hall. }

PROVOST

De Rouchamp, Provost.....The main street this side the bridge. Govr Cook
 The Town Prison.....In front of the Town Hall.

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

Count de Fersen..... }
 Marquis de Vauban..... } The main street this side the bridge. Nic Brown
 Marquis de Damas..... }
 The Chevalier de Lameth..... }
 Dumas..... } The main street this side the bridge. Doer Bowen
 De Lauberdère..... }
 Baron de Clozen..... } The main street this side the bridge. John Foster

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE BARON DE VIOMESNIL

D'Angely..... }
 Le Chevalier de Viomesnil..... } The main street this side the bridge. Jos Brown
 De Chabannes..... }
 Brintaneau..... } The main street this side the bridge. Jenkins
 St. Amand.....The main street this side the bridge. John Hopkins
 De Lange.....The main street this side the bridge. M Field
 Desoteux.....The main street this side the bridge. Dr Chase
 Brison..... ditto Jos Brown

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELLEUX

De Lintch..... }
 De Montesquiou..... } Near the Town Hall.....Cushing

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE COUNT OF VIOMESNIL

D'Olonne the elder..... }
 D'Olonne the younger..... } Back street this side the bridge.....Edward Spaulding
 Stack..... ditto Mrs Jenkins

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY

De Tressan.....The main street near the Town Hall. Richard Olney

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE

De Béville.....Back street beyond the bridge.....Theodore Foster

PAY MASTER

De Baulny, Paymaster.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Colonel Barton

SUPPLIES

Danré, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Amos Attwell
 Morion, Cashier.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Nath Green
 Bourgneuf, Director..... ditto Long Wharf.. Isaac Aldrich

HOSPITALS

De Mars, Superintendent.. At the Hospital.....
 De Coste, Physician in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Tillinghast
 Robillaid, Surgeon in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Samuel Young
 Abbé de Glemon, Chaplain.....The main street this side the bridge. Benj Allen

BUTCHERS' MEAT

Durel de Bégier, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Mrs Stevens

FORAGE

Louis, Superintendent.....The main street this side the bridge. Jos Laurens

CLOTHING

Martin, Storekeeper.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Mr Clark, Treasurer

Newport, July. 29. 1780.

Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest gratitude, the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs, leave in the name of the King his master, their Ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the Citizens of America. The Count has the honour to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry adds a great degree of Security to his preparations of defense, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport. Such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

C. De Rochambeau

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF
NEWPORT IN TOWN MEETING

Tuesday, July 11, 1780.

WHEREAS, many of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newport, sincerely desirous of affording their utmost aid and assistance to the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty, the Illustrious Ally of the States, now within the Harbour and Town of Newport, have associated for the defence thereof against the Common Enemy; and whereas, the same Inhabitants have been heretofore deprived of their fire arms and accoutrements by the said Enemy, and are now in want of a sufficient number for arming & Equipping 200 men: Wherefore, Resolved, that Major Genl Heath be, and he is hereby requested to apply to Genl Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the Army of his said Christian Majesty, for the Loan of a sufficient number of the necessary arms and accoutrements for the arming and equipping sd men, & this Town will return the same when thereto required by Genl Count de Rochambeau, & that the Committee who waited on Genl Heath yesterday be appointed to wait on him with the vote.

Whereas, upon the arrival of the Fleet & Army appointed by His Most Christian Majesty to cooperate with the forces of these United States against the Common Enemy, the Inhabitants & Citizens of this town are called upon from the Duty & Regard they owe our country, & the Gratitude & Respect which is due from every Citizen to the Illustrious Ally of these States, as well as to afford them the utmost aid & assistance, also to manifest every mark of respect & esteem upon their arrival; Wherefore resolved, That all Houses in the Streets hereafter named be Illuminated to-morrow evening, to-wit: Thames Street, Congress (heretofore called Queen Street), Lewis Street (heretofore called King's Street), Broad Street, leading out of Town, the Street leading over the Point Bridge, and the Street leading from the long Wharfe to the point Battery, and such other Houses in this Town as the abilities of the Occupants thereof will admit, & that the Lights be Continued to 10 o'clock in Eveng; it is further resolved, that Benj Almy, Job Easton, George Champlain, Jabez Champlain, Geo Sears, Rob

Taylor, John Townsend, John Topham, Isaac Dayton, & William Taggart be a Committee to Patrole the Streets to prevent any damage arising from fire, & to preserve the Peace of the Town; Ordered that this resolution be published & made known to the Inhabitants of this Town by beat of Drum. It is further resolved, the Treasurer shall furnish a Box of Candles at the expence of the Town, & that the same be distributed to those of the Inhabitants who reside in the Streets heretofore ordered to be Illuminated, and who are not of abilities to furnish the same.

REPLY OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS
OF NEWPORT

Newport, July 29, 1780

Lieutenant Colonel Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest Gratitude the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave, in the name of the King, his master, their Ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the citizens of America. The Count has the honor to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry add a great degree of Security to his preparations of defence, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport, such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
RHODE ISLAND TO THE HONORABLE
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LE COMTE
DE ROCHAMBEAU

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, with the most pleasing satisfaction, take the earliest opportunity of congratulating the Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the Army of his most Christian Majesty, upon his safe arrival within the United States. Upon this occasion we can-

not be too expressive of the grateful sense we entertain of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States by their illustrious friend and ally. Sufficient had been the proofs of his zeal and friendship; the present instance must constrain even envious, disappointed Britons to venerate the wisdom of his councils and the sincerity of his noble mind. We look forward with a most pleasing expectation to the end of a campaign in which the allied forces of France and the United States, under the smiles of Divine Providence, may be productive of peace and happiness to the contending powers and mankind in general. We assure you, Sir, our expectations are enlarged when we consider the wisdom of his Most Christian Majesty in your appointment as the Commander of his army destined to our assistance. Be assured, Sir, of every exertion in the power of this State to afford the necessary refreshments to the army under your command, and to render this service to all ranks as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are, on behalf of the General Assembly the General's most obedient and most devoted humble servants.

WILLIAM GREENE
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To Lieutenant-General
Comte de Rochambeau.

REPLY OF GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen. The King, my Master, hath sent me to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present I only bring over the van guard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the King has ordered me to assure them that his whole power shall be exerted for their support.

The French troops are under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren; and nothing will afford me greater happiness than contributing to their success.

I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the General Assembly, and beg

leave to assure them that as brethren not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command are entirely devoted to their service.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
To the Honorable the General
Assembly of the State of Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
RHODE ISLAND TO THE ADMIRAL
CHEVALIER DE TERNAY

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened with the most pleasing satisfaction take this, the earliest opportunity, of testifying the sentiments that are impressed upon them by the great attention which his most Christian Majesty has invariably manifested to the United States. The formidable armament heretofore sent to our aid has essentially promoted our happiness and independence. But at a time when Europe is involved in the calamities of war, by the ambitious views of the British Court, we cannot express the gratitude we feel upon your arrival with the fleet under your command, destined by our illustrious ally to the assistance of the United States. We entreat you, on this occasion, to accept the warmest congratulations of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; and be assured, Sir, of every exertion in their power to afford the necessary refreshments to the fleet, and to render the service as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are in behalf the General Assembly
The Admiral's most obedient and
most humble Servants,
WILLIAM GREENE
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To le Chevalier de Ternay

REPLY OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEM-
BLY OF RHODE ISLAND

The multiplicity of business in which I have for some days been involved, has hitherto pre-

vented my honoring, in due form, an address from the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c. I have already assured them how sensible I am of their politeness, in a visit to my ship, to give me an assurance of their granting every necessary supply for the squadron and fleet of the King of France during their continuance in this State.

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity of testifying to the Honorable Assembly my peculiar satisfaction in an appointment by the King, my Master, to conduct succours to his allies, who have several years been successfully contending to establish an independence, which will be the basis of their future felicity.

I have nothing further to aspire after than the hour when I shall participate with the United States in the glorious advantages resulting from war with enemies, who vainly attempt to subjugate them, and wrest from them that freedom, the blessings of which they already experience.

I beg the Honorable Assembly would be persuaded that I am penetrated with the warmest attachment to every member of which that body is composed.

THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY,
Commandant of the Naval Forces of his
Most Christian Majesty at Newport.
To the Honorable the General
Assembly of the State of Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations.

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL AND
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE
PLANTATIONS

The Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your Excellency and the officers and troops composing the Army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this State. Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the Army of the United States, in the fatigues, the

toils, and the glory, that have attended the allied arms, but the magnanimity of the Father of his people and the Protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be irrepressible but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of His Most Christian Majesty,

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of Humanity and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens; and may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most generous people.

Done in General Assembly, at East Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and on the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf the Council and Representatives, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and very humble servant,

WILLIAM GREENE, Governor

By order, Samuel Ward, Secretary.

The Comte de Rochambeau

ANSWER OF THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU TO
THE ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR,
&c., OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen: It is with inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American Army, under the orders of General Washington.

This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behavior of its inhabitants now and at our arrival here will give them always a right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our Sovereign as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interests from those of his faithful allies.

LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

INSCRIPTION OVER THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY
ERECTED IN THE TRINITY CHURCH-YARD, NEWPORT,
BY ORDER OF THE KING OF FRANCE

1783

D. O. M.

CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY. Ordinis sancti Hierosolymitani eques, nondum vota professus, a vetere et nobili genere, apud Americas, oriundus, unus e regiarum classium praefectis. CIVIS MILITIS, imperator, de rege suae patriae, per 42 annos, bene meritis, hoc sub marmore jacet, Feliciter audax naves regias, post Croisiam cladem per invios Vicononiam fluviit enfractus disjectas à caecis voraginibus, improbe labore, annis 1760, 1761 inter tela hostium detrusit avellit, et stationibus suis restituit incolvmes Anno 1762, terram novam in America invasit Anno 1772, revinctus praetor ad regendas Bourboniam et Franciae insulas, in Galliae commoda et colonorum felicitatem per annos Septem, totus incubavit. Foederatis ordinibus pro libertate dimicantibus a rege Christianissimo missis subsidio anno 1780, Rhodum insulam occupavit; dum ad nova se accingebat pericula, In hac urbe, inter commilitonum plactus inter foederatorum ordinum lamenta et desideria, Mortem obiit gravem bonis omnibus, et luctuosam suis, die 15 Xbris MDCCCLXXX, natus annos 58. Rex Christianissimus, Severissimus virtutis iudex, ut clarissimi viri memoria posteritati consecraretur MDCCCLXXXIII hoc monumentum ponendum jussit.

TRANSLATION

In the name of GOD CHARLES LEWIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, though the Vows of the Order he had never acknowledged, descended from an Ancient and Noble Family of Bretagne, one of the Admirals of the King's Fleets, a Citizen, a Soldier, a Chief, served ably, faithful to his King and to his Country, for 42 years, now rests beneath this Marble, happily resolute. In the years 1760 and 1761, after the *Croisade* Battle, with painful difficulty, amidst the weapons of Enemies, he rescued and brought off from dangerous whirlpools the Royal Fleet, dispersed near the innavigable eddies of the River of Vicenza, and gave his Ships the Stations he wished without any damage. In the Year 1762 he invaded Newfoundland in America. In 1772, having resigned his command, he received the Regency of Bourbon and the French Islands adjacent, in which office for 7 Years, to the emolument of France, and the happiness of the Colonies, he was assiduously faithful. Being ordered by His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1780 with Assistance to the United States, engaged in the Defence of Liberty, he arrived in Rhode Island, where, while he was prepared to encounter the Dangers of his Command, to the inconsolable Grief of his Fellow Soldiers, to the sincere sorrow of the United States, he expired in this City, regretted by all the Good: but particularly lamented by those to whom he was related, December 15th, MDCCCLXXX, Aged 58. His Most Christian Majesty, strictly just to Merit, in order that the Memory of this illustrious man might be consecrated to Posterity, hath ordered this Monument to be erected, MDCCCLXXXIII.

INSCRIPTION ON THE GRANITE TABLET PLACED OVER THE
GRAVE OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY BY ORDER
OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

1873

HOC SUB LAPIDE
ANNO M.DCCC.LXXIII. POSITO
JACET
CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC
DE TERNAY
ANNO M DCC LXXX
DECESSUS
SUB PROXIMI TEMPLI PORTICUM
ANTIQUUM MONUMENTUM
RESTAURATUM ET PROTECTUM
TRANSLATUM EST

TRANSLATION

Beneath this Stone
placed in the year 1873
lies
CHARLES LOUIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY
who died in the year 1780
Beneath the porch of the church near by
the ancient monument
restored and sheltered
lies removed

LETTERS OF DE FERSEN
AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU
WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN
1780-1782

*Translated for the Magazine from Baron de
Klinckowström's Count de Fersen
Paris—1878*

III

York, 23 October, 1781

As I have not time to give you the smallest details upon the siege, I add to this a little journal of our operations; they are ended for this year; we shall remain in winter quarters in the neighborhood, and headquarters will be at Williamsburg, a miserable little town, which is more like a village. There are some indications that we shall next year make a campaign towards Charleston, which we will finish by a siege of that place. The English will not fail to send troops from New York to this part of America, and I believe we shall have active operations there. It seems that there is nothing else for General Clinton to do. M. de Rochambeau has asked for a reinforcement of troops, and I think that M. de Grasse will return here from the Antilles with his 28 vessels. If the command be left to him, he will bring troops with him. With his forces joined to ours, we shall be in a situation to make a pretty campaign, and the capture of Savannah, where M. d'Estaing failed, and that of Charleston may well be the issue of the campaign, and crown the work we have so well begun.

- I have no doubt that the troops which M. de Rochambeau has asked for will be sent to him; he knows too well the

use to make of them, and he has just rendered services too great to be refused, at a moment like this, so just a request. I am only afraid of peace, and pray that it be not made yet.

All our young Colonels who belong to the Court are leaving, so as to pass their winter in Paris. Some will come back; others will remain, and will be greatly surprised not to be made brigadiers, because of having been at the siege of York; they think they have done the finest thing in the world. As for myself, I shall remain. I should have no other reason for going to Paris but my amusement and pleasure; they must be sacrificed. My affairs will do without me; I should spend money there; I ought to husband it. I prefer to employ it in making some campaign here and finishing that I have begun. When I took up the resolution to come over here I foresaw all the ennui I should have to endure; it is just that the instruction I may acquire should cost me something.

JOURNAL OF OPERATIONS

(Annexed to the preceding letter)

After eleven months passed at Newport in complete inaction, the army moved on the 12th June, 1781, leaving 600 men and 1000 militia men, under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier, to defend the works we had raised there, protect our little squadron of 8 vessels which was to remain and cover our stores at Providence, where we had all our siege artillery. The army passed by water from Newport to Providence, and thence continued its march by land

as far as Phillippsbourg, 15 miles distant from Kingsbridge, where it arrived the 6th July, and encamped on the left of the Americans. The legion of Lauzun had always covered our left flank, marching 9 or 10 miles from us, between us and the sea. Our army was of 5000 men, the Americans about 3000 men. During our stay at Phillippsbourg we made several great foraging expeditions and reconnoissances towards Kings-Bridge. The 14th August we received news of the arrival of M. de Grasse. He left the Islands on the 24th July. I was sent to Newport to hasten the departure of our fleet, and the embarkation of the artillery at Providence. The 17th the army left Philippsbourg, and arrived the 21st at Kings ferry on the bank of the North or Hudson's river. It was four days in crossing, and the 25th we ourselves began our march. 2000 Americans were with us; 3000 were left to guard the defiles near Philippsbourg. Every thing seemed to announce a siege of New York. The establishment of a bakery and other store houses at Chatham, 4 miles distant, from Staten Island; our passage of the North River, and march towards Morristown seemed to indicate that we intended to attack Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of our vessels. We were not long in seeing that our views were not turned upon New York, but General Clinton was entirely deceived; that was precisely what we wished. We crossed *Jersey*, which is one of the finest and most highly cultivated provinces of America, and the army arrived the 3d September at Philadelphia. It passed through the city on parade, and aroused the admir-

ation of all the inhabitants, who had never seen such a number of men uniformed and armed alike, nor so well disciplined. The army, after a sojourn of two days, took up its march on the fifth to the Head-of-Elk River, which is the head of Chesapeake Bay. The 6th we learned that M. de Grasse arrived on the 3d with 28 vessels in Chesapeake Bay, and that 3000 soldiers, under the orders of M. de Saint-Simon, Maréchal de Camp, had been landed and joined the 1800 men under the Marquis de Lafayette at Williamsburg. The march of the troops was hurried, and on the 7th the entire army had arrived at the Head-of-Elk. It was resolved to embark the army; but the scarcity of vessels, all of which the English had captured or destroyed in the 5 months they had been masters of the bay, only allowed of the embarkation of our grenadiers and Chasseurs, 800 men, and 700 Americans. The remainder, with the waggons, marched to Annapolis, and were embarked in frigates. The whole arrived, and encamped the 26th — at Williamsburg. M. de Grasse, two days after his entrance into the bay, the 5th September, discovered the English fleet of 20 ships in the offing. Admiral Hood, with 12 vessels, had joined the 8 of Graves. M. de Grasse went out at once with 24 vessels; he left 4 to guard the York and James rivers. After a combat which was not very spirited, the English withdrew. M. de Barras, with his 8 vessels, joined M. de Grasse, and the 8th they were all in the bay.

From the moment of our arrival at Williamsburg the debarkation of the field artillery and waggons was pressed;

all was ready on the 28th, and the army marched to invest York, where Lord Cornwallis was. He occupied York, which is on the right bank of the river, and Gloucester, which is on the left bank. The river is a mile wide, that is, about a third of a French league. We began our investment the same day, but the Americans could not finish theirs until the next day; they had to cross a morass; the bridge had been broken, and another had to be constructed. The 29th the investment was complete, and we set to work to construct a quantity of fascines, saucissons, hurdles and gabions necessary for the siege. The 30th the enemy evacuated their advanced works, and withdrew into the body of the place. These works consisted in two great redoubts and a battery of two pieces of cannon, which were separated from the town by a great ravine, and were about 400 fathoms distant. We took possession of it, and our works were much advanced thereby, as it gave us the opportunity to establish our first parallels on the other side of the ravine. If Lord Cornwallis committed a fault in this, it may be excused, for he had express orders from General Clinton to shut himself up in the body of the place, and a promise that he (Clinton) would come to his succor.

The 6th October, at 8 o'clock in the evening, we opened a trench at 300 fathoms from the works. The left rested on the river, the right on a great ravine, which descends perpendicularly upon the town, at a point about a third to the right of the works, and thence leads to the river in the sight of the town. Our trench was 700 fathoms in extent, and

was defended by 4 palisaded redoubts and 5 batteries. The ground, which is very much cut up by little ravines, greatly facilitated our approach, and enabled us to reach our trenches under cover without being obliged to cut a tunnel. On our left we had opened another trench, the left of which rested on the river, and its right on a wood; we had there a battery of 4 mortars, 2 howitzers and 2 pieces of 24, which swept the river, endangered the communication from York to Gloucester, and greatly troubled the vessels in the river. The enemy fired very little at night. The following days were spent in completing the trench, palisading the redoubts, and putting the batteries in order. They all opened fire during the day of the 10th. We had 41 pieces cannon, mortars and howitzers, all included. Our artillery was admirably served; the character of the works, which were of sand, did not allow all the effect from our cannon which they would have had on ground of another kind; but we learned from deserters that our bombs did great execution, and that the number of killed and wounded increased considerably. The besieged fired but little; they had only small pieces, their largest being 18; they had only mortars of 6 to 8 inches; ours were 12 inches. During the day they fired numerous bombs and royal grenades, and at night they established flying batteries— During the day they ordinarily withdrew their cannon, and placed them behind the parapet. The night of the 11th to 12th a second parallel was opened at 120 fathoms, its left resting, like that of the first, on the same ravine, the right

on a redoubt. We could not push the parallel to the river, because of two redoubts of the English, which were at half gun shot in front of our right. It was determined to attack these, in order to complete the parallel. The 14th, at 8 o'clock in the evening, 400 grenadiers and chasseurs, supported by 1000 men, attacked the redoubt, and carried it, sword in hand. There were 160 men within, half English, half Germans; only 34 prisoners and 3 officers were taken. The Americans carried the other redoubts. The night was spent in continuing the trench, and on the morning of the 15th it was quite under cover. The English kept up a heavy fire of bombs during the night and the whole day.

The 16th our batteries were completed, and the pieces were mounted in battery. In the morning at 5 o'clock they made a sortie with 500 men, entered one of the batteries, and spiked 4 pieces of cannon. They were immediately repulsed, but we lost some twenty men, killed or wounded. Our troops, who had been extremely fatigued from the beginning of the siege, were surprised asleep.

The 17th a flag was sent in, and Lord Cornwallis asked to capitulate. The whole of the 18th was spent in arranging the articles; the 19th the capitulation was signed, and the troops laid down their arms. There were only 10 balls and a bomb left in the place. We had in our second parallel 6 batteries and 60 pieces of artillery, which would have opened fire on the 17th, and on the 18th or 19th we expected to be ready to assault.

The legion of Lauzun, 800 soldiers, some vessels and 1000 militia men were on the Gloucester side to prevent any thing from getting through on that side. In the night of the 14th to 15th Lord Cornwallis crossed 2000 men over to Gloucester to force a passage there, and traverse 200 leagues of the enemies country to reach York. The enterprise was bold, but foolish. He would perhaps have arrived with 100 men. The only fault that Lord Cornwallis committed was to remain at York; but it was not his, but that of General Clinton, who ordered it; he only obeyed.

We captured in York 7600 men, of whom 2000 sick and 400 wounded; 400 fine dragoon horses, and 174 pieces of artillery, of which 74 of bronze; the greater part of this artillery consists of small mortars of 4 to 6 inches. There were about forty vessels, the most of which are sunk or damaged. There was one vessel of 50 guns which the battery on our left had set on fire by red hot shot; it was burned.

Our army was composed of 8000 men, and the Americans had about the same number, in all 15 to 16,000 men. We had 274 killed or wounded and 10 officers.

Williamsburg, 25th March, 1782.

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 4th March from Philadelphia. I left there the 9th with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and we arrived here the 17th. We had a charming journey, and the canteens he brought with him, well supplied with patés, hams, wine and bread, prevented our taking any notice of the

wretchedness of the taverns, where only salt food is to be found, and no bread. In Virginia only cakes made of the flour of Indian corn, which is slightly roasted before the fire; this cooks the outside a little, but the inside is only uncooked paste. Their only drink is *thum*, which is sugar brandy mixed with water; this is called *grogg*. The apples have failed this season, which has deprived them of cider. At 250 miles from here, in the section which is called *the Mountains*, it is quite different. The country is richer; it is there that the great tobacco crops are raised, and the soil yields grain and all kinds of fruit; but in the part which borders on the sea, and which is called *the Plain*, where we now are, only Tobacco is cultivated. The principal production of Virginia is tobacco; not that this province, which is the most extensive of the 13, is not capable of other culture, but the laziness and vanity of the inhabitants are a great drawback to industry— It seems indeed that the Virginians are another race of beings; instead of attending to their farms, and engaging in trade, each proprietor wishes to be a lord. A white never labors, but, as in the Islands, all the work is done by the negro slaves, who are overseen by whites, and there is an intendant at the head of them all. In Virginia there are at least 20 negroes to every white; this is why this province supports but few soldiers in the army. All those who engage in trade are looked upon as inferior to the others; they say that these are not gentlemen, and will not associate with them. They all have aristocratic ideas, and to see them it is hard to comprehend how they could have entered

into a general Confederation, and accepted a government founded on a perfect equality of condition; but the same spirit which has led them to throw off the English yoke may well lead them to other steps, and I shall not be surprised to see Virginia separate from the other States on the peace. I should not be surprised even to see the American government become a complete aristocracy.

We have no political news here. You already know of the capture of Saint-Christopher; a fine possession the English have just lost. There is much talk here of an evacuation of Charleston; 30 transport vessels have arrived there from New York to take troops on board. There were 40 or 50 there before arrived for the same service. Our politicians differ greatly on the object of this evacuation; some think that it is to concentrate all their forces at New York, which seems to be little probable; others that it is to be within reach to carry succor to Jamaica in case she stand in need of it. Since the capture and total dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen there should be no anxiety in that direction, and I am rather of the opinion of those who do not believe in the evacuation; what makes me doubt it at this particular moment is that General Clinton would not dare to take so pronounced a step without the orders of his Court; that such orders can only be the result of a general plan of campaign, and that this plan, if it be made, can not yet have reached here.

The capture of a part of the convoy of M. de Guichen is a terrible loss to us; besides the munitions of war and

provisions, with which he was laden, but which can be replaced, we are losing time which can never be regained, and the expedition against Jamaica must have failed. Admiral Rodney is arrived at the Islands with 10 Vessels and troops; that makes his force superior to M. de Grasse, and may well change the face of affairs in that quarter.

Yorktown, 27th March, 1782.

We left Williamsburg this morning, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, M. de Rochambeau and I, for a journey of five or six days. We went to see Portsmouth, on the other side of the James River, beyond Cape Henry. Arrived here, I learned that a small vessel is about leaving here for Europe, and I will not let her go without writing to you.

To-day a vessel arrived here from Martinique; she informs us that no combat had taken place between our fleet and the English fleet, but, on the contrary, that the latter had passed through ours to throw assistance into Saint-Christopher, which assistance had been repulsed; the English fleet had set fire to all its transports, which, driven by the wind against our fleet, laying at anchor before them, had compelled it to raise anchor, and given the English time to escape. This is a fine manoeuvre on the part of Admiral Hood. I can not assure you of the authenticity of this news. I suppose you have more certain information. The same vessel assures us that Rodney had not yet arrived at the Islands.

Williamsburg, 27th May, 1782
We are here in great consternation

about a combat which has taken place between the fleets at the Island. The first news that we had was that we had the advantage, but we yesterday received news from the English, that is to say, by a gazette from New York, which says that the *Ville de Paris*, a ship of 110 guns, on which the Count de Grasse himself was, was captured with six others, and that we have been entirely beaten. This news seems to be very correct from all the particulars which accompany it. The vessels taken are named, the number of killed and wounded on each is specified—in a word it seems impossible that this news is a forgery of a gazetteer. We do not stand up very well under this reverse, and I notice that we allow ourselves to be easily depressed.

It would seem, indeed, as though we were but little accustomed to success from the extreme joy that it causes us and the despondency into which we are plunged by the slightest reverse. This one is very considerable, and destroys this entire campaign; it gives the English a superiority in the Islands; if they conduct themselves with judgment they may do us much harm, and the arrival of a reinforcement of troops to them from Europe may well deprive us of all our conquests. This disaster will have great influence upon us, and compel us to pass this campaign in complete inaction. This is a miserable state of things, above all if we are unfortunate enough to remain here. The heat is already extreme; imagine what it will be in the months of July and August.

We have not had any news yet of M. de Lauzun; we have been expecting

him with great impatience, particularly myself ; we are beginning to feel quite uneasy about him.

Philadelphia, 8th August, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 16th July, also from Philadelphia. I was there with M. de Rochambeau, who had appointed a rendezvous with General Washington to confer together on the operations of the campaign. As a result of this conference I was sent on the 19th to York, in Virginia, on a mission then secret but no longer so ; this was to embark, as soon as possible, our siege artillery, which we had left at West Point, 8 leagues above York on the same river, and move it up the Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore. This operation required great secrecy and promptitude, as we had only one vessel of forty guns to escort this convoy, and the English with two frigates would have prevented us from getting out of York River, or have taken some vessels from us. I left ill with a heavy cold, which was considerably increased by the fatigue and heat. As soon as I had begun the embarkation, and everything was moving in order, I came back to report to M. de Rochambeau, who is with the army at Baltimore, and after remaining with him a couple of days, I left with the Chevalier de Châtelux for Philadelphia, where the Chevalier de la Luzerne overwhelmed me with civilities, attentions, kindness, politeness and friendship. The army is to leave Baltimore the 15th to pass here and to march to the North River. I shall wait its arrival here ; I must have some rest,

and I could not be in a house more agreeable and comfortable than this.

Our campaign this year will not be as brilliant as the last. The defeat of Count de Grasse, the dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen, the capture of that destined for the Indies—all these misfortunes together have deranged all plans and brought all projects to an end. Nothing is left us to do in this country but the siege of New York, and we are too weak for such an enterprise, which depends wholly on a naval superiority ; this we have not. Admiral Rodney has looked to that, and when, perchance, we had it, we did not know how to take advantage of it. We are looking every moment for news from France. We are told that preparations are made for a siege of Gibraltar ; until now there has been only a fruitless blockade. If this difficult operation be obstinately pursued, I fear that our campaign must be quite inactive or confined to some long and painful marches. I doubt much the possibility of success at Gibraltar, and I greatly fear that the Spaniards will prove the truth of the bon mot of the man who said on being told that it was the second siege of Troy : *Yes, but the Spaniards are not Greeks.*

The heat is extreme here ; I support it perfectly. The drought has been unusual this year ; all the brooks are dried up, and our army is greatly troubled to find water ; a very necessary thing, nevertheless, in hot weather.

Philadelphia, 17th August, 1782

The 8th of this month the army was at Baltimore, a small town at the head of Cheasapeake Bay, and it was to

march the 15th of the same month to the North or Hudson's River, but the news and prospects of peace which we had from England by way of New York delayed our march, and we only begin our movement on the 20th towards our first destination; this is the result of a correspondence our generals had together. It seems very probable that we shall have a hard and fatiguing campaign this year; marches and encampment in the late season are terrible in this country; the rains are continual, and the roads almost impracticable; these, probably, are the only enemies we shall have occasion to combat this year.

From the news which we have from England, for we have none yet from France, it appears that peace is not distant. England seems to be quite disposed to it if France be only modest in its demands. This country asks nothing more, particularly since the King of England declares them independent; and I believe that Holland does not find enough interest in the war to desire to continue it. The English appear to conduct themselves with less hostilities in this country; they have forbidden all their partisans, *tories* and *refugees*, as they are called, to make incursions or expeditions into the country without a permit signed by the commandant of the place. They have sent all the prisoners to England without coming to any understanding as to their exchange. General Carlton, who commands at New York, has informed General Washington in a very polite note which he wrote him, that the King, his master, has granted independence to America; that he has sent to Paris a man with full powers to

treat, and proposes to General Washington to agree upon an exchange of prisoners. All this seems to imply peace; we all believe that if it be not already signed it surely will be in the course of the winter, and that we may embark in the spring. This thought causes universal joy; it gives me a pleasure that I am unable to express; the hope of seeing you, my dear father, is one that can only be felt.

Crompond Camp, 3d October, 1782

The last letter I had the honor of writing you, my dear father, was of the month of August. Since then we have been constantly on the road, and I have not had an opportunity to send you any word. The army has crossed the Delaware and the North or Hudson's Rivers, and we are encamped 10 miles from this latter and 24 miles from the island of New York. It seems highly probable that we shall finish our campaign here, and leave for our winter quarters; it is not known and I dare not say where they will be.

Charleston is evacuated, and consequently the English have nothing left to the south of the continent; their possessions are at present confined to the islands of Long Island, Staten Island and New York. There is much talk of the evacuation of the last; while Lord Rockingham was alive I believe it was resolved upon; now all seems changed. Our generals believe it, however. I am not of their opinion. I believe that 2,000 English troops are being sent to the islands, and that the Germans with the remainder, to the number of 10,000, are left in New York. If the evacua-

tion take place we have nothing to do but to return to France.

Although we have seen no enemy the campaign has been very severe ; we have suffered a great deal from the heat, and now the cold begins to make itself felt quite sharply. I support all these changes perfectly, and only find myself the better for them. I have a tent this year and a mattress ; I am not very well off for coverings but my cloak takes their place.

Boston, 30th November, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 3d November from Hartford, where the army halted 8 days waiting until the fleet of M. de Vandreuil should be ready. We left on the 4th and on the 10th reached Providence, where our stay was protracted, waiting for the fleet to be ready to take us on board. I took advantage of this delay to visit Newport, which is only 10 leagues distant, to see my acquaintances and bid them adieu.

We left Providence the 4th and arrived here the 6th. We embarked at once. I am on board the *Brave* of 74 guns with the Count de Deux-Ponts and our first three companies ; the Chevalier d'Amblimont commands her ; he behaved very badly on the day of the 12th April ; he fled instead of obeying the signals, and replied to M. de Bougainville, who hailed him and demanded to know the reason of such extraordinary conduct, *that the fleet being lost he must at least save one ship for the King*. He is very amiable and polite ; he has a good ship ; I am well lodged ; he lives well. This is all I need. I forgive him his want of courage.

It seems certain that we are bound for the cape to take the orders of Don Galvez ; this is surely to attempt an expedition against Jamaica ; while that against Gibraltar, which has lasted five years, shall have failed or succeeded, the one we shall undertake against Jamaica will be decided before the month of July, and our return to France probably depends upon this expedition. A person worthy of confidence, and one who is in a position to know, has informed me that we shall not remain long at the Islands, and that we may very well be in France next summer.

We do not yet know whether the English have evacuated Charleston or not ; this must seem quite extraordinary ; it is, in fact, strange that having an army 10 leagues from there we should be in uncertainty concerning an event of this interest ; but communications in this country are so slow and uncertain that we are for the most part without other news than through the New York Gazette. An express bravely gets over 8 leagues a day when it should make 12 or 13. This, perhaps, is for want of arrangement. There is considerable talk of an evacuation of New York ; it is said that even the English talk of it ; I do not believe it at all. The surrender of this place will have its weight in the treaty of peace.

M. de Rochambeau left us at Providence ; the entire army regrets it and with good reason. He has gone to Philadelphia where he will embark on the frigate *La Gloire*. I handed to him a letter similar to this ; you will receive them, perhaps, at the same time. This goes by the frigate *L'Iris*. The Baron de

Viomesnil commands the army and leads us to the Islands. He leaves us and returns from there to France as soon as we arrive.

I informed you in my last that the Duc de Lauzun remains in America with his legion ; I thought that the siege artillery would be taken, but that has been changed ; it remains at Baltimore where it now is with 400 men detached from different regiments, and near 400 sick who will be perfectly well before spring. This makes in all 1,400 men who are under the orders of M. de Lauzun, and who will probably have nothing to do but remain here until the peace. The Duke and his legion will be quartered at Wilmington, 9 leagues south of Philadelphia.

I cannot repeat to you often enough, my dear father, how much I am attached to the Duke de Lauzun and how fond I am of him; he is the noblest soul and most straightforward character that I know. Among the equipments which he brought, and which have all been lost, there were several things for me of which he knew I was in need, and part of which I begged him to bring for me. He has never been willing to tell me what the value of these was, and has always answered me that it was a mere bagatelle—that it was not worth speaking of. I should never end if I were to tell you all the kind and delicate acts I know of him.

The whole army regrets going to the Islands; even I am not well satisfied. We saw the departure of M. de Rochambeau with regret; every one was satisfied to be under his command. This is far from the case with the Baron de Viomesnil. As for myself personally I

should be perfectly content. The Baron has always treated me with politeness and distinguished attentions. The Baron is very quick and high-tempered; he has not the precious sang-froid of M. de Rochambeau. He was the only man capable to command us here, and to maintain the perfect harmony which has existed between two nations so different in their manners and their language, and who, at bottom, have no love for each other. There were never any disputes between our two armies during the period we were together, but there were often just causes of complaint on our side. Our allies have not always conducted themselves well towards us, and the time we have passed with them has not taught us to love or esteem them. M. de Rochambeau himself has not always had reason to praise them; notwithstanding which his conduct was always the same. His example had its effect on the army, and the severe orders he gave restrained everybody and enforced that rare discipline which was the admiration of all America and of the English who witnessed it. The wise, prudent and simple conduct of M. de Rochambeau has done more to conciliate America to us than the gain of four battles would have done.

Our fleet at Boston consists of 13 vessels; here is the list of them. They will set sail as soon the wind permits. The English fleet of 23 sail left New York in two divisions; the first of 12 vessels under the orders of Admiral Pigot left the 23d October; the second of 11 vessels went out the 21st of this month, it is reported. Is it to wait for and capture us, or is it to carry the

Charleston garrison to the Islands? We know nothing about it. In a short time all will be made plain.

—
Boston, 21st December, 1782

It is not yet known whether or not Charleston is evacuated; a Philadelphia gazette which has just arrived says that the English are constructing two new redoubts, and that the truce which had been asked for, and was supposed to be a sure sign of evacuation, had been broken, and the place would not be evacuated.

We are all going on board this evening; all the vessels are ready, and if the wind is fair we shall sail tomorrow morning. As soon as I arrive at the Islands you shall hear from me, my dear father, and I shall have the pleasure of assuring you of my respectful attachment.

—
Porto Cabello in South America
(southwest of Curaçoa),

13th February, 1783

I am perfectly well, and the passage, which was long, dull and disagreeable, has not had as much effect upon my physical as my moral condition. The impossibility of any occupation on board, being always in the same room with 45 persons, was frightful. It is a horrible kind of life. The Navy is a wretched profession, particularly in France. On our passage we lost the *Bourgogne*, of 74 guns; 400 men perished.

The country we are in belongs to the Spaniards. It is only inhabited by Negroes, Indians, and Spaniards as black as the Indians. We arrived here

on the 10th in the evening but all scattered. We are now here, 5 vessels arrived at four different times, two or three days after each other. Three are at the Island of Curaçoa where they have been obliged to make port, not being able to go any further. That is 30 leagues from here. Three others are God only knows where; it is now ten days since we saw them. The first convoy of 32 sail, which we took at Boston, we lost sight of by bad manoeuvring in three very heavy gales which we encountered on the American coast. Of a second convoy of 10 sail, which we took at Porto Rico, 5 got in to Curaçoa; the rest are probably lost. They came with us as far as the point west of this island, but when it became necessary to beat up against the wind to reach Porto Cabello they could not hold up against the wind, and were compelled to run before it. The currents were also so strong that in one night we were carried 13 leagues back from where we were at sunset. We were 13 days between Curaçoa and the main land, making 35 leagues. It was opposite to Curaçoa that the *Bourgogne* was lost. But after all we are arrived here safe and sound; that is a great deal. I would never have believed it, and it is only by a miracle. I do not know why it is, but the English never lose as much as we do.

—
Porto Cabello, 10th March, 1783

Porto Cabello is a wretched place and offers no resources of any kind. The port is superb; vessels of 80 guns go to the wharf; it can hold 50 vessels, and with some labor 100 might be at their ease in it. If Porto Cabello were

in other hands than of the Spaniards, it might be made one of the finest settlements on the coast of South America; but the government will not open its eyes to its own advantage; everywhere it seeks to force and to fetter commerce, whereas to flourish it needs the largest liberty. The government, in order to populate the interior of the country, as they say, established the capital at Caraccas, which is 35 leagues from here; they have succeeded in making a pretty town enough of 25,000 to 30,000 souls; but the country in the neighborhood is only inhabited by Negroes and Indians as it was before; and to prevent Porto Cabello from flourishing they forbid building houses there of more than one story, and have made another port at La Guaira, which is only 5 leagues from Caraccas; but this port is only a rude market, and ships are in danger of perdition. It is in these ports that all the cocoa trade is carried on; that which grows in this part of America is the best. A trade in cotton and leather is also done here, but it is so crippled by custom houses, duties, monopolies of every kind, that it does not amount to much. I propose, in a few days, to make a journey to Caraccas; all the colonels of the army and several other officers are now there; I shall wait their return before leaving.

We have not yet any news of the Spanish fleet; we do not know where it is, or what are the reasons which delay its arrival here. We are waiting for it with the greatest impatience.

By letters received from Madrid some eight days ago it seems that peace is very probable. I hope sincerely that

it may be made, or that we shall be sent to carry on the war somewhere else.

I am still in very good health; we have very few sick. The heat is extreme, but I support it perfectly, and I am still wearing a cloth suit lined with woollen while all the rest are clothed in linen. My eyes have troubled me a little, which I attribute to the reflection of the sun, which is very intense, on the houses, which are white. I have begun to use tobacco again, and it is now passing off a little.

NOTES

FRENCH FREEMASONS.—The following list of French officers who joined the Freemasons' Lodge of St. John, at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1790, is a copy of the original from the Records of the Lodge:

May—*Officers of Rochambeau*: Pierre Armand Aboynaux.*

October 19—Wm. Adancourt, Claude Barille, John Buitden, James Cullio, Allen Cavalier, Joseph Collones, Antoine de Chartres, John Louis de Sybille,† Mons. de Moulin, Jean Baptiste Fiory, Mons. Jennecourt, Henry La Neal, John Lagoud, J. Montelier, Joseph Moneta, S. C. Demoulins Rochefort, Peter St. Phillips, Benjamin Seelye.

* Married a Malbone, and took her to France.

† Secretary to Rochambeau.

Newport, R. I.

J. E. M.

PORTRAITS OF FRENCH OFFICERS.—Names of French officers whose portraits appear in the picture of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, by Trumbull,

in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

These portraits were obtained in Paris, 1787, and painted by Trumbull from the living men, in the house of Mr. Jefferson, then Minister to France from the United States.

- 1 Count Deux-Ponts, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 2 Duke de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 3 Count Custine, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 4 Duke de Lauzun, Colonel of French Cavalry.
- 5 General Choizy.
- 6 Viscount Vioménil.
- 7 Marquis de St. Simon.
- 8 Count Fersen, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 9 Count Charles Damas, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 10 Marquis Chastellux.
- 11 Baron Vioménil.
- 12 Count de Barras, Admiral.
- 13 Count de Grasse, Admiral.
- 14 Count Rochambeau, General en Chef des Français.

These names and their numbers are taken from the key to the picture.

EDITOR.

GRAVEYARD INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLEGHANY COUNTY, PA.—In the burying ground at West Elizabeth, Alleghany county, Pa., repose the mortal remains of two young patriots, whose memory deserves to be preserved in a more enduring material than the crumbling stones which mark their graves. They were volunteers to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection, and died from hardships and

exposure consequent to a campaign in a very inclement season. The following are the brief records on their tombstones:

LIEUT. ALEXANDER BEALL
of Berkley Co., Va.
Jan 11, 1795
Aged 20.

THOS. WALKER
of Albermarle Co.
Virginia.
Jan. 16, 1795
Aged 20.

I. C.

—
MEREDITH CLYMER—Another young patriot, a son of George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is interred in the First Presbyterian Churchyard, Pittsburg. He was a member of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, commanded by Captain John Dunlap. He died November 18, 1794, in camp, at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela River, and was buried from the residence of his father's friend, General John Neville, in Pittsburg, on the 23d of November. The stone which once marked his grave has disappeared, and his last resting place cannot now be positively identified.

Alleghany City, Pa.

I. C.

—
MACOMB'S DAM.—This structure was thrown across the Harlem River many years ago by Robert Macomb, son of Gen. Alexander Macomb, for the benefit of his tide flour-mill at Kingsbridge. It was situated a little to the east of the present High Bridge, and at the terminus of the Eighth Avenue car line, where the

Central Bridge crosses. It has disappeared with the new time, as also the mill, which once did a large business, and was furnished with an elevator for loading and unloading vessels. The unique and invaluable historical illustrated work, Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," gives a good picture of the old mill. Mr. Macomb occupied his father's ancient and elegant mansion, since and for thirty years past the residence of Joseph Godwin, Esq., of Kingsbridge. This gentleman has added important improvements to this fine historical house, but its immensely thick stone walls are unchanged. Mr. Macomb is remembered by old citizens as a man of great affability and courteous manners.

W. H.

MR. LEE'S PLAN.—In a foot-note on page 330, Vol. IX, of his History of the United States Mr. Bancroft, alluding to this important document, says: "The merit of discovering the plan belongs to George H. Moore, the author of The Treason of Charles Lee."

In this statement there is a slight error. In the autumn of 1856 the late Abraham Tomlinson, a collector of and dealer in rare documents in manuscript, autographs, etc., came to my study in New York with a parcel of manuscripts, which he had for sale. He said that they belonged to a man from Nova Scotia, and that they were found among the papers of General Sir William Howe. Among these was a manuscript of nine foolscap pages, folded in form for filing, with the endorsement in the handwriting of Henry Stratchey (the Secretary of General Howe), "Mr. Lee's

Plan, 29th March, 1777." I asked Mr. Tomlinson to leave the manuscript with me, which he did for a few hours, with the injunction not to copy a word of it. I carefully perused it, and perceived its great importance if genuine. I then had the Schuyler papers in my possession, among which were two or three letters written by General Charles Lee to General Schuyler, one of them dated "Feb. 28, 1776." I compared the handwriting of these letters with that of "The Plan," and was satisfied that the latter was genuine.

The price asked for this manuscript I was unwilling to pay, and I recommended M. Tomlinson to call on Mr. Moore, then the Librarian of the New York Historical Society, and offer it to him for the archives of the Society. I am under the impression that I gave Mr. Tomlinson a note of introduction to Mr. Moore. The latter purchased the manuscript, and afterwards, with his usual industry, with patient research, he prepared and published the valuable monograph, entitled "The Treason of Charles Lee," with a *fac-simile* of the "Plan." This was the first announcement to the world of the long-suspected fact that General Charles Lee was undoubtedly a traitor to the cause he had espoused. Very recently a manuscript has been put into my hands, written by one of the most prominent actors in the scenes of the Revolution, which casts light upon the history of the production of "Mr. Lee's Plan." BENSON J. LOSSING.

THE SPLIT BUSH—A SIGN FOR THE GODLY.—*Virginia, April 16, 1791.* For about eight hundred miles which I have

rode since I landed in South Carolina, we have had hardly any rain. But this day, the 16th, we were wetted to the skin. However, we at last happily found our way to the house of a Friend by the Preachers Mark—the *Split bush*.

This circumstance may appear to many immaterial; however, as it may convey some idea of the mode in which the Preachers are obliged to travel in this country, I will just enlarge upon it.—When a new Circuit is formed in these immense forests, the Preacher, whenever he comes in the first instance to a junction of several roads or paths, splits two or three of the bushes that lie on the side of the right path, that the Preachers who follow him may find out their way with ease. In one of the Circuits the wicked discovered the secret, and split bushes in wrong places on purpose to deceive the Preachers.—*Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

JOHNNY CAKE.—It has been generally supposed that "Johnny Cake" was a corruption of "Journey Cake;" but Colonel Loudermilk, in his History of Cumberland, mentions a much more probable origin of the name. Speaking of the Shawanese he says: "A favorite article of diet amongst these Indians was a cake made of maize beaten as fine as the means at command would permit. This was mixed with water, and baked upon a flat stone which had been previously heated in the fire. The trappers followed the Indians' example in the baking of 'Shawnee cakes,' as they called them, and the lapse of a few years was sufficient to corrupt the term

into that of 'Johnny cake,' so familiar throughout the South, and in common use at this day."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

THE ROCHAMBEAU PAPERS.—A proposition is now before Congress which deserves its early and favorable consideration. This is the purchase of the Rochambeau papers, which are offered for sale by the Marquis de Rochambeau, the representative of the family, and their present custodian. A carefully prepared inventory of this collection shows it to consist of fifteen hundred documents, including a large number of autograph letters of the American and French chiefs, diplomatic and military, of letters in cypher with their key, and of numerous maps and plans in drawing and engraving. The centennial anniversary of the landing of Rochambeau and the French contingent occurs in 1880, and it is greatly to be hoped, that in the preparation of the addresses which will doubtless make part of the ceremonies on this interesting occasion, and which should be under the *direction* and *patronage* of the Government of the United States, our historians may have access to this invaluable mine of original material.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

MOURNING WOMEN.—The funeral of Lady Andros, who died in Boston, Feb. 10, 1687-8, is thus described by Sewall in his Diary: "Between 4 and 5 I went to the Funeral of the Lady Andros having been invited by the Clark of the South Company. Between 7 and 8

(Lychus [Lynchs? *i. e.*, links or torches,] illuminating the cloudy air). The Corps was caried into the Herse drawn by Six Horses, the Soldiers making a Guard from the Governour's House down the Prison Lane to the South Meeting house, there taken out and carried in at the western dore and set in the Alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with Candles and Torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the House that might not rush in too soon— I went home where about nine o'clock I heard the Bells toll again for the funeral—"

This is the first instance I have seen of *women as mourners* at a funeral. Is there any other? HISTORIAN.

MELLON AND MALONE.—What was the origin of the naming of Mellon's Bay in Jefferson county, N. Y.? Why was the name of the town of Ezrville in Franklin county, N. Y., changed to Malone? MELLON.

A CANTSLOPER.—In Colonel John May's Journal, p. 54, he says: "At 11 A. M. paid the visit to our Governor, wrapped in my cantsloper, and was received most graciously." What kind of a garment is a cantsloper?

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

GEN. SETH POMEROY.—This officer's death is said to have taken place at Peekskill, N. Y., February 19, 1777. Can any reader give me any particulars concerning his death or the place of his burial? C.

NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY.—British Empire in America, by Herman Moll, London, A. D. 1708, Vol I., p.

128, says: "A Library was erected this year (1700) in the city of New York." Was not this the germ of the New York Society Library? JONES.

GENERAL FRAZER'S BURIAL PLACE.—Were the remains of General Simon Frazer removed from their resting place on the upper Hudson? Is there any positive information concerning the present resting place of that gallant officer?

Rochester, N. Y.

H. C. M.

THE FINE ARTS IN NEWPORT.—At Mr. Isaac Hart's a jew,* living at the point in Newport, Rhode Island, there is a portrait of the Czar Peter 1st, done I believe by Sir Geodfrey Kneller, or some of his disciples, but finished by himself, it is a bust, in armor with an imperial mantle on his shoulders.

At Mr. John Bannister's farm, a mile and a half from Newport, there is a picture, 3 quarters, of Charles 1st, and his Queen. Of the Queen of Charles II. As I suppose of King William and Queen Mary, a beautiful picture. Cleopatra dying, is an oval frame, a picture bust of Oliver Cromwell, represented very ugly, and an oval picture bust of Vandyke, supposed to have been done by himself, very fine. With several more of lesser note, also a head of Spenser, very good.—*Du Simmitaire Mss.*, 1769.

* Mr. Isaac Hart, of Newport, in Rhode Island, formerly an eminent merchant and ever a loyal subject, was inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted, wounded in fifteen different parts of his body, and beat with their muskets in the most shocking manner in the very act of imploring quarter, and died of his wounds a few hours after, universally regretted by every true lover of his King and country. —*Account of the attack on Fort St. George, Rivington's Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1780.

What has become of these pictures? *Newport.* A. H.

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE?—Running through four successive numbers (March to June) of the first volume of the Magazine of American History, the late Mr. Thomas Balch contributed a very interesting narrative of a visit to this country in 1782, written by Claude Victor de Broglie, whom he is pleased to style "*the Prince de Broglie*." It is in regard to the title given to the author of the Narrative that this communication refers.

The preliminary note on page 180 gives some account of the writer and his family, in which it is said that Francois Marié (1), Maréchal de France, was created *Duc de Broglie* in 1742, whose son Victor Francois (2), the second *duke*, died at Munster in 1804, "and his son, Claude Victor (3), our author, born in 1757," was guillotined June 27, 1794. The note further states that the "*Prince de Broglie*" left one son, "Victor Charles (4), the late *Duc de Broglie*," who married the daughter of Madame de Stael, and whose son (5) is the present *Duke*. Now out of this genealogical record how is Claude Victor de Broglie, who died at the early age of thirty-seven, and before his father, created a *Prince*, when there is nothing elsewhere in the Narrative to show how he became entitled to the title?

This inquiry, which is not without interest, has been caused by the recent publication of a remarkable and important work, "The King's Secret," by the present *Duc de Broglie*, in fact a memoir of the diplomatic services of Charles Francois, Comte de Broglie, the uncle of Claude Victor. (See Review in Robinson's Epitome of Literature

for May 1st.) In the closing pages of the work the author refers to Claude Victor by name, but nowhere is anything said of his, or any other member of the family, having been created *Prince*. Do not these facts and circumstances show that the author of the interesting Narrative referred to did not claim and had no right to the title given him by Mr. Balch; that he did not even inherit his father's title of *Duke*?

Mr. Balch must also have been in error in his statement that the second *Duc de Broglie* "died at Munster in 1804." The present *Duke* says (Vol. II. p. 533): "*He was still living in 1804*, when the First Consul, reestablishing the dignity of Marshal of France, offered to reopen his country to him, and to restore his military honors. He refused, and died in a strange land."

CHARLES HENRY HART.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1879.

ANDRÉ — MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—The New York Sun has published the inscriptions Cyrus W. Field proposes to cut on the André monument. One is as follows: "*He was more unfortunate than criminal*; an accomplished man and a gallant officer. George Washington."

I would like to know where Mr. Field finds the above quotation. The only thing resembling it I have been able to find is as follows: "André met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer." (Sparks, VII, 256.) I have sought in vain for the clause—"He was more unfortunate than criminal."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

REPLIES

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—(III, 262.) The literature about DeBry is too extensive and formidable to be transferred to the pages of the Magazine. If "Bibliopole" will consult Dibdin, Brunet and Graesse, he will find the answer to his question.

New York.

B. R. B.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—(III, 263.) The author of *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals and National Policy*, by a citizen of Virginia, was George Tucker. An account of him may be found in *Allibone's Dictionary*.

B. R. B.

ANDRÉ'S REMAINS.—(III, 203.) An account of the removal of the remains of Major André from Tappan to Westminster Abbey, written by James Buchanan, British Consul to New York, may be found in the "United Service Journal" for November, 1833. There are also accounts in Mrs. Child's "Letters from New York," and Dr. Thatcher's "Observations Relating to the Execution of Major André." The correspondence between Dr. Thatcher and Mr. Buchanan, in regard to certain statements made by the latter, is in the *New England Magazine* for May, 1834.

The querist should consult Sargent's "Life of André," and also "The Case of Major André" in Vol. VI. of the "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania" for 1858.

C. A. C.

—In reply to inquiry of "W. N.," concerning an account of the removal from Tappan to England of the remains of André, I will call his attention to

a communication from "a lady of Richfield Springs," embodying such account, in the *New York Evangelist* of January 30, 1879. Also to an important reply to it from James Demarest, Jr., in same paper, February 27th.

H. W. K.

Brooklyn, N. Y., April 1, 1879.

COL. BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION OF 1779.—(III, 315.) I know of no volume which contains the report to which A. E. refers. The expedition is related by De Hass in his volume on Western Virginia. The report in full is printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 19, 1779.

W. K.

—The report desired will be found in *Craig's Olden Time, Vol. II*, 308.

Alleghany, Pa. ISAAC CRAIG.

—A. E. will find what he enquires for in "The Olden Times," Vol. II.; and also Broadhead's correspondence with others than Pickering, on the expedition, in "Pennsylvania Archives," Appendix, 1790.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

MRS. HORSMANDEN.—(I, 197.) Valentine's Manual for 1864, page 619, says the Rev. Wm. Vesey was married in 1698 to Mrs. Mary Reade, a widow.

C.

GOTHAM.—(I, 633.) This correspondent may find an answer to his query by consulting Wheeler's "Dictionary of Fictitious Names."

A.

THE QUIDEM.—(III, 202.) Respecting the query on this subject, it may be

said that in Father Rasle's Indian Dictionary (American Academy of Sciences, Vol. I. n. s.) the term is given as "Ag8iden," seeming to indicate canoes in general. In Rasle's alphabet "8i" has a guttural sound of "ou," very difficult to be pronounced.

ABENAKE.

LOST LOCALITIES.—(III. 203.) "The Forest-of-Dean" lies north of the Dunderberg, and a little west of the Hudson River. See Eager's "History of Orange County, N. Y." C.

THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—(III. 312.) It may be possible that the quarto Bible printed by Isaac Collins, mentioned in your last issue, was the first produced in this country, but the statement made in Caleb Cresson's Diary that his hands were at work upon it on the 25th of August, 1791, is not conclusive evidence of priority.

I have before me a large quarto Bible, containing 1399 pages, illustrated with fifty full-page engravings, printed at Worcester, Mass., in 1791, by Isaiah Thomas. Until it appears that Isaac Collins completed his Bible in 1791, I shall persistently claim that Isaiah Thomas printed the first great quarto Bible in America.

Worcester, Mass. CLARK JILLSON.

INWOOD - ON - HUDSON vs. TUBBY HOOK.—(III. 261.) In reply to the query in the April number of the Magazine as to the origin of the name Tubby

Hook, on Hudson River, the writer made inquiries about twenty-five years ago. All replies were to the same effect, that the name was given from an old occupant of the locality. Endeavoring to ascertain whether the said Tubby had been the occasional ferryman to the Jersey shore—for there was formerly a ferry thence—no information could be obtained. The change of name, a few years since, to that of Inwood, a designation so common to private places about New York, was far from agreeable to some at least of the old residents.

Fieldston, April, 1879. M. L. D.

—In one of the recent queries in the Magazine of American History some one asks the meaning or derivation of Tubby Hook.

There is no Hollandish or Dutch word which exactly corresponds to this. It may be derived from *Tobbe*, a washing place, because the point forms a cove, and affords excellent bathing; or from *Tobben*, because the tide runs strongly and dangerously around the hook or point; or, thirdly, from *Tobbes*, the name of the stickle-back, a peculiar fish, which may have resorted in numbers to this locality. The spelling even of proper names was often variable and inaccurate a century or two since, even in elevated society. *Vide* correspondence and journals of early settlers.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

New York.

LAFAYETTE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.—(III. 202.) On page 81, New England Historical-Genealogical Register, Vol.

XXIV, 1870, a correspondent says: "Lafayette was made a citizen of Maryland by statute in 1784. He was also made a citizen of Virginia about the same time in the same manner. See 12 Henings' Statutes, p. 30.

As a citizen of Maryland and of Virginia he was of course a citizen of the United States before the Constitution—and if he had not been, he was expressly made such with the rest of their citizens by the terms of that instrument. Washington, in his correspondence respecting Lafayette's imprisonment in 1796, expressly says: "Lafayette is an adopted citizen of this country," though he had not renounced his French allegiance. J. F. W. can verify the above, I suppose, by reference to the Maryland and Virginia Statutes.

H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa., April 10, 1879.

—(III. 202.) In the *Mémoires historiques et pièces authentiques sur M. de La Fayette*, published at Paris, 1793-4 (chapter upon the visit of Lafayette to New York, 30th June, 1784), M. de Crèvecoeur quotes a letter, announcing that the General Assembly of Connecticut had just passed a law naturalizing both the Marquis and his son citizens of the State, and congratulating himself that it was "Connecticut which had given on this continent the *second* example of a sovereign State offering unsolicited all of its privileges to a stranger."

Maryland, I believe, was the first State to accord to him this grateful testimony of their gratitude, no doubt in

memory of his campaign of 1781, when he made Annapolis his headquarters.

EDITOR.

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REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONS.—(III. 263.) An account of John Gray of Mount Vernon, the *last* soldier of the Revolution, by J. M. Dalzell, a pamphlet, was published in Washington in 1868.

Harvard College Library. J. W.

—
DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III. 316.) Among the autograph letters sold some years since in Baltimore, for a charitable object, was one from Alexander Hamilton to James McHenry, Secretary of War, dated January 19, 1797, introducing "Mrs. de Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville of Holland, a gentleman who had embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and, as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country, as far as a general consideration will admit relief."

This may aid in the discrimination of the persons of this name. EDITOR.

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PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—(II. 494 and III. 57.) Having observed in the register of the Academy of Geneva the name of a student, the son of Jacobus Victorianus Leisler of Frankfort, I suggested in the *Magazine of American History* (II. 494) the possibility that Jacobus may have been the father of Jacob Leisler of New York, a theory

which seemed to me the more plausible because of two or three considerations, among which I mentioned, first, the *identity of the surnames*.

Your correspondent, E. C. B. (III. 58) takes exceptions to this remark. "The author," he says, "in the hurry of translation makes a slip. There is no such identity. Jacobi Victoriani filius is the son of *James* Victorian, not *Jacob*."

Permit me to remind E. C. B. that the surnames Jacob and Jacobus or James have in German but one equivalent, *Jacob*. When, therefore, it behooved John Henry of Frankfort to sign his name in the University register at Geneva, it was optional with him to render his German father's surname Jacob into Latin, either as Jacob or as Jacobus. Perhaps he did not know—quite as likely he did not care—whether his father had been named for the Patriarch or for the Apostle. At all events the name Jacobus Leisler could have been in its original German form nothing else than *Jacob Leisler*.

I am aware that in the German Bible the Hebrew name and its Greek derivative are distinguished, as in the Vulgate and the Septuagint (but not in Josephus), the form "Jacob" occurring in the book of Genesis, and the form "Jacobus" in the New Testament. There is, however, no such distinction in common use in German. K. E. Georges' *Deutsch-Lateinisches Handwörterbuch*: "JACOB, Vorname, JACOBUS."

"In Russia and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its orig-

inal form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be *no distinction between Jacob and James*." (Dictionary of the Bible, by William Smith, LL.D., vol. i., p. 918, *note*.)

Even in countries where such a discrimination is usual, "its modern dress," adds the authority quoted last, "sits very lightly on the name, and we see in 'Jacobite' and 'Jacobin' how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form." (Ibid.) "The French themselves were not always particular as to the mode of rendering into Latin a name in which they are supposed to have a special interest. In the lists of French Protestants naturalized in England, Jacobus '*seems to stand for Jacob and James*,'" says Agnew. (Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 37. Elsewhere, it is true, he expresses himself less confidently—p. 72, *note*.) Castalio, or Châteillon, the French theologian, at one time professor of classical literature in Geneva, gives in his Latin translation of the Bible (Basle, 1573) the form Jacobus, throughout both Testaments, where the French version discriminates between Jacob and Jacques.

Other authorities might be cited, as that of Cole's English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary (1717), which gives "Jacobus" as the rendering of Jacob and of James alike. The German usage, however, is conclusive as to the case before us. The Frankfort Leisler's name was certainly identical with that of the American patriot—or usurper.

C. W. B.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC. Ses-
sions of 1877-8-g. 8vo, pp. 160. Quebec, 1879.

In a valuable paper read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec on the 19th December, 1877, by Mr. Louis P. Turcotte, printed in the French original in this volume, will be found an account of the origin and purposes of this Society, which in the absence of any Record Office has done good service in the preservation of historical documents. It was organized at the instigation of Governor Lord Dalhousie in January, 1824. Its first volume of transactions was issued in 1829, a second in 1830, and a third in 1837. In 1832, the Legislature coming to its aid with a sum of three hundred pounds, the managers of the Society judiciously resolved to begin the purchase in Europe of original documents relating to the history of Canada.

While waiting the realization of this effort the Society published in 1838 a volume, containing a document supposed to be written by M. de Vaulain, a naval officer, entitled "*Mémoire sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'en 1760.*" A second volume, issued in 1840, contained three documents copied at Versailles for Lord Durham, and five of those supplied by the Abbé John Holmes. In 1843 a third, containing the three *Voyages de Jacques Cartier en Canada*, the *Route de Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge*, the *Voyage du Sieur de Roberval*, and the *Lettres de Jacques Noël*. Their publication used up the three hundred pounds voted, but the Legislature, in view of the importance of the work, voted a second sum of three hundred pounds and an annual donation of fifty pounds. The Society then began a manuscript collection on a more extended scale. Of these the first series of seventeen volumes contains copies of the official correspondence of the Governors of Canada, 1631-1763, from the Paris Archives. The second series of six volumes is entitled *Documents and Colonial History*, and composed of papers selected from the London Archives. The third and last series of five volumes is made up of—I. *Relations du Canada depuis 1682*; II. *Autre Relation du Canada, 1695-6*; III. *Voyages fait au Mississippi par d'Iberville et de Surgères*; IV. *Histoire du Montréal attribuée à M. Dollier Casson*; V. *Several relations on the siege of Quebec in 1759 and the war of Independence*. The member of the Society, to whose enlightened zeal the Society owes much of its success, is M. G. B. Fairbault, who has been six times honored with its Presidency.

The active work of the Society was interrupted by the transfer of the seat of Government, first to Kingston, later to Montreal. In 1847 its numbers were reduced to fourteen paying members. The transactions from 1832 to 1855 are included in a single volume, the fourth of the series. In 1852 the return of the Government service to Quebec gave new vigor and alimment to the institution, but the destruction of the Parliament buildings in 1854, where it had its rooms, was a terrible blow. It lost its museum of natural history, its collections of pictures and a part of its library, but fortunately saved its manuscripts. In 1862 its museum and a part of the library were again destroyed by the fire which consumed the Savings Bank, in which it had quarters, but again fortunately its manuscripts were preserved. In 1863 it began the publication of a new series of its transactions, which has been since continued nearly every year. In 1877 the publications had reached eight volumes of *Memoires* and ten of *Transactions*. A catalogue of this series is appended to M. Turcotte's sketch.

In the present report we find a paper "*On the Aborigines of Canada under the British Crown*," by William Clint, with an enumeration of the Indians in the provinces, and an appreciative paper on Emerson the Thinker, read in January of the present year by George Stewart, Jr., author of the recent history of Canada under the administration of the Earl of Dufferin.

Our cordial sympathies and good wishes are with this excellent and industrious institution.

RECORDS OF THE PRESIDENT AND
COUNCIL OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM JANU-
ARY 1, 1679 TO DECEMBER 22, 1688. Edited,
with notes and an introduction, by CHARLES
DEANE, F. S. A. Fifty copies from the
Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical
Society. 8vo, pp. 26. Press of JOHN WIL-
SON & SON. Boston, 1878.

This is the first publication from old manuscripts in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, entitled the *Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire*. It consists of twenty-three folio pages, and is in the handwriting of Elias Stileman, the Secretary of the Province. It is supposed to contain details on provincial history of New Hampshire nowhere else to be found. It begins with the entry, dated January 1, 1679, of the receipt by the hands of Edward Randolph of the King's

Commission for the Government of New Hampshire, which, on the decision rendered in England that neither Massachusetts nor Robert Mason had a right to rule the four towns which constituted the territory, the King in Council created a Royal Province. It closes with a minute of the 22d December on a matter of Customs business. Its interest is local.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA — SOUTHERN STATES, 32mo, pp. 268. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

This is still another of the charming little series, which the name of Longfellow commends to every heart. The antiquary will delight in Michael Drayton's ode, quaint and rare, to the Virginian voyage to the land where "plenty grows of laurel everywhere" for warrior, poet and for sage; here too is perpetuated the spirited stanzas of My Maryland, which stirred many a marching regiment in the field and many an anxious heart at home during the late war. So will the anonymous verses, describing Stonewall Jackson's way. Not so well known is the exquisite little poem entitled Forest Pictures, Georgia, by Paul Hamilton Hayne. And who that heard "Fanny Kemble" read Whittier's feeling stanzas to Barbara Freitchie, the loyal heroine of Frederick town, will not delight to have the melodious tones of her wonderful voice recalled by a perpetual reminder in this beautiful table companion.

THE SILVER QUESTION. By GEORGE M. WESTON. 8vo, pp. 293. Published by I. S. HOMANS. New York, 1878.

The dedication of this volume to the Hon. John P. Jones, whose influence forced the Silver bill through the last Congress, is sufficient indication of its general purpose. Mr. Weston is an unhesitating advocate of the entire restoration of silver as an unlimited legal tender, and the imperative necessity of its free coinage. In his argument he invokes the great authority of Albert Gallatin, confessedly the ablest financier this country has seen since the days of Hamilton, and indeed as excellent an authority as he. Mr. Gallatin certainly favored the double standard, but nowhere, we venture to say, can Mr. Gallatin be found in favor of the admission of a double standard, in which the precise ratio of value between the two metals is not preserved. It is the great fluctuation in the value of silver, consequent on the discovery of immense deposits of silver, and its increased production, that have disturbed its relative value, as compared with gold, and led to a general belief that its use as a measure of value is too unstable to be maintained. This is the reason why the

economists of the world are now arrayed in two camps; those in favor of a single and of a double standard. At the great monetary conference held in France in 1867 the weight of the United States was thrown in favor of a single, and that a gold standard, by Mr. Ruggles, its distinguished representative. In 1878 this position was reversed, the commission adopting the views of Congress, as expressed in the law of February, 1878. Between these dates the great increase in the production of silver has intervened.

Of all the treatises on this question on the silver side, this of Mr. Weston is the best. His argument is clear, and he does not permit his feelings to get the better of his reasoning faculties, an unpardonable error in such disquisitions. In the last number of the Contemporary Review (April, 1879) Mr. Stephen Williamson distinctly asserts that the protracted commercial and manufacturing distress of Great Britain, and of the world at large, is to be directly ascribed to the "suicidal act of discarding, discrediting and cutting off from performing its wonted functions one of the two agents or solvents for the liquidation of balances of international indebtedness," and urges the "rehabilitation of silver to the rank of money both sides of the Atlantic." While as at present advised we should regret to see silver made an unlimited legal tender, we are free to say that we should be glad to see the silver currency of the United States raised to its gold value, and a place made for it in the circulating medium, by the withdrawal of every note of the United States and of the National Banks below the sum of five dollars. In this manner as much silver as we are likely to coin in the next two or three years could be easily absorbed, and to general benefit.

FATHER TOM AND THE POPE; OR A NIGHT AT THE VATICAN. By the late JOHN FISHER MURRAY. With illustrative engravings. 16mo, pp. 96. T. B. PETERSON & Bros. Philadelphia [1878].

This famous squib is *sui generis*. In it satire is mingled with fine critical learning, and although now that the religious controversy, the occasion of which called it out, is what we may term one of the dead issues, and quite out of fashion, it is as readable and amusing as when it first appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in 1838. Its authorship has been attributed to various persons, particularly to Dr. Maguire, Rev. Francis Mahony and Samuel Ferguson of Dublin. In a preface "Father Tom" is now affiliated upon its actual author, the late John Fisher Murray. This little edition is pleasantly illustrated and well printed, and we know of scores of libraries where it will be a welcome guest.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION, CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF UTICA. With the Annual Reports of the Officers for 1878, and some account of the collections of the Society and its needs and purposes. Founded 1876, incorporated 1878. 8vo, pp. 38. ELLIS K. ROBERTS & Co., printers. Utica, 1879.

We have already noticed the good work which this Society has done for the exposition of the history of the Mohawk Valley in publishing the Memorial of the Centennial of Oriskany and other papers. Utica is a place of excellent culture and abundant wealth, and her patronage of a Society is assurance of its success. Five papers were read before it last year, a satisfactory sign of its vigorous beginning. And its treasures begin with the Vanderkemp collection of manuscripts and works of art, several thousand in number. We note also a nearly complete set of the pamphlets printed in the Welsh language in Oneida county, beginning with *Pigion o Hymnan*, by Ira Merrill, at Utica in 1808.

What county in New York State will next follow in this excellent track?

BRYANT MEMORIAL MEETING OF THE CENTURY, TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1878. 8vo, pp. 74. Press of G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. Century Rooms, New York.

In this elegantly printed pamphlet is found a complete account of the memorial meeting of the Century Club in honor of its late President. The programme was of an artistic character, including music, poems by Bayard Taylor, R. H. Stoddard and E. C. Stedman, and an oration by John Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow was for many years the associate of Mr. Bryant in the editorship of the *Evening Post*, and qualified beyond all others to speak with authority concerning his habits of thought and manner of mental labor, a subject which always interests the literary man.

Few men could say as Bryant of himself that he always wrote his best; that not only was he never satisfied with second-rate work, but that he was willing to publish nothing with which he was not satisfied. This is a severe strain, and none but a thorough mental and physical training could have sustained it. The critical reader will be gratified by Mr. Bigelow's truthful and judicious analysis of journalism as a profession. He divides it into two well-defined schools, one of which aims in daguerotyping the events and humors of the day, the other to direct and shape these events and humors to special standards. One the school of the real, the other of the

ideal. The reader need not be told that the serious philosophic mind of Bryant could not have contented itself except in the latter school.

This oration, differing widely as it does from those of Curtis and Osgood, is to the full as interesting as either. It is clothed in language of pellucid clearness, in every line of which we discern the ripe scholarship and contemplative philosophy which Mr. Bryant sought in his companions and associates, and in the exercise of which the *Evening Post* may be said to have formed a class of its own in the school of journalism which it followed.

KANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FIRST BIENNIAL REPORT. Submitted at the Annual Meeting, January 21, 1879. 8vo, pp. 63. GEORGE W. MARTIN, publisher. Topeka, Kansas.

The work of this youthful Society appears from this report to be progressing at a satisfactory rate; the collections of books and pamphlets are increasing, and notably the bound newspaper files which, kept up, will prove invaluable to the later historian. A manuscript collection is being formed of letters and documents concerning the earlier history of the State, and to this is added the extensive scrap-books of newspaper clippings, collected by Dr. Webb, the Secretary of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company. We wish the young Society success.

BERARD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Revised by C. E. BUSH. 16mo, pp. 352. COWPERTHWAIT & Co. Philadelphia, 1878.

The author bases the claims of this work, at a time when so many histories of the United States are already before the public, upon its special and practical adaptation to the actual work of teaching. Its plan was wrought out in the class-room, and carefully tested by practical application. Its peculiarity consists in arrangement; each division of the book being preceded by a careful analysis of the subject treated; the text following in the precise order thereby indicated. This purpose is well carried out. A chronological table of principal events since the Columbian discovery, an analysis of the Constitution of the United States, an index and pronouncing vocabulary of Indian and foreign names, increase its value to the teacher. It is remarkably well edited, with clear divisions, and is excellently printed. Some colored maps and well-executed text illustrations add to its attractiveness and value.

SOME EARLY NOTICES OF THE INDIANS OF OHIO. TO WHAT RACE DID THE MOUNDBUILDERS BELONG? By M. F. FORCE. 8vo, pp. 73. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1879.

The first of these papers, read before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, groups together in chronological order the various notices of the Western tribes of Indians, from the discovery by Champlain in 1609 of the Quatoghies on the eastern shore of Lake Huron. In 1650 these Hurons, or Ouendats, as they called themselves, were nearly destroyed by the Five Nations, and sought refuge among the tribes of the western extremity of Lake Superior. Threatened by the Sioux, they next placed themselves under the protection of the French post of Mackinac, and gradually pushed down to Detroit; and thence extended their settlements and permanently established themselves in the northwestern part of Ohio, where they became known as the Wendots or Wyandots, a corruption of their name of Ouendats. The Miamis settled the western portion of Ohio, the Shawnees the Scioto Valley, the Delawares the valley of the Muskingum and the Senecas the northern and eastern borders.

This paper only treats of the history of two tribes, the Eries and the Shawnees, from authentic sources. The Eries, or the Nation du Chat, appear in a list of the sedentary nations that speak the Huron tongue in a relation of 1635. In their contest with the Onondagas, who took to the warpath to avenge the death of one of their chiefs, the Eries were entirely destroyed; and their country on the southern shore of Lake Erie is laid down on a map of 1720 as the "Nation du Chat, détruite." The Chaouanons, Shawanoes, or Shawnees, as they are now termed, emigrated to Ohio after 1750. Parkman says that "their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances perplex the antiquary and defy research." Nor has recent investigation been able to trace this nomadic tribe to its original home. The French accounts, however, to which in all disputed cases we incline to give most credit, assign to them the southern shore of Lake Erie as their first seat. They appear to have been pushed towards Carolina by the Iroquois, who settled on Lake Ontario when they were driven from Montreal by the Algonquins. A tribe with a similar name was on the Delaware River in 1614. In 1694 a portion of the Shawnees emigrated from the South, and settled among the Minnisinks above the forks of the Delaware. When La Salle established his post on the Illinois, they were drawn thither. Some of them lived on the borders of Virginia. In the last half of the

seventeenth century their home was on the upper waters of the Cumberland. Here they first appear in actual history.

The second paper—To what Race did the Moundbuilders belong?—was written for the Congrès International des Américanistes, which met at Luxembourg in September, 1877. It ascribes these curious structures, scattered over the United States, to a people materially different from the Indians of to-day. The works are of various character, and erected for different purposes. Some are fortifications, signal stations, others substructures for temples or dwellings, some cemeteries and others single graves. Some of the larger conical mounds show evident stratifications as though tiers of bodies had been interred at one time, and covered with earth. Some represent effigies prone on the earth, others are in mathematical figures, simple or in sections. They are to be found scattered from Texas to Carolina, on the Mississippi, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and on the Upper Missouri and its affluents. These latter are massive defensive works. The three belts of Ohio, the valley of the Miamis to the west, the Scioto Valley in the center, and Muskingum Valley to the east, appear to have been the homes of three different, though kindred, tribes. The mounds differ in magnitude. Many of them are sixty, some ninety feet high. That at Cahokia has a base of eight acres, and is ninety feet high, with a summit level of five acres, and contains about twenty million cubic feet of earth. The defensive work on the Little Miami, called Fort Ancient, has an embankment four miles in circuit, part of it twenty feet high, and, extending out to the front from the main entrance, two parallel lines of embankment, making a covered way more than a thousand feet long. The works above Newark, O., comprise twelve miles of embankments; those at Portsmouth, twenty miles. Equally striking is the relation of the works to each other, indicating a system of national defence, surrounded by signal mounds, which could transmit an alarm for a distance of a hundred miles. Such a system of works imply a people governed by a central directing power, and also a sedentary laboring population. This population was not only an agricultural, but a mining people. The copper mines on Lake Superior were extensively worked. The Moundbuilders and the Pueblo Indians have so many points of resemblance that the one might be taken for the other. Nor yet in the opinion of Mr. Force is there anything in the condition of the Moundbuilders inconsistent with the idea of their having been tribes of North American Indians. The growth of trees in the mounds gives some idea of the age in which the builders lived, and show that the works must have been abandoned at least

six or eight hundred years ago, perhaps much earlier. As to the Lake Superior mines, there are widely different opinions; Mr. Gilman concluding that they were abandoned eight hundred years ago, while Dr. Lapham believes them to have been worked as recently as the early French settlement of the Northwest. As for the argument to be deduced from the study of the skulls, Mr. Force draws the conclusion that there is no peculiarity or characteristic differing from those common to the crania of living tribes.

Mr. Force calls attention to the game of "chungke," played with a stick and stone discs by the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees and Chicasaws, the ancient game of the Southern Indians, and the constant finding of just such stone discs in the mounds. The stone implements of the ancient and modern people do not materially differ, nor yet their pottery. The mound-builders the author considers to have been driven from their fortresses and their territory, and forced into the tract bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, where, mingled with the conquering tribes, they lost some of their industries, but preserved some of their traits. He concludes that they were of the same race as tribes now living; that they were as civilized as the Pueblo Indians; that they flourished a thousand years ago, and earlier and later, and that in the tribes near the Gulf of Mexico were preserved some of their customs and some of their lineage till after the discovery of America by Columbus.

THE COLORED CADET AT WEST POINT. Autobiography of Lieutenant HENRY OSSIAN FLIPPER, U. S. A., First Graduate of Color from the U. S. Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 322. HOMER LEE & Co. New York, 1878.

We begin a notice of this volume, which is likely to hold its place among American biographies, by mentioning the honest praise bestowed upon the authorities at West Point during the period of Lieutenant Flipper's cadetship. In his own words, "All he could say of the professors and officers at the Academy would be unqualifiedly in their favor." Flipper was born a slave in Georgia in 1856. His early education was received at the school of the American Missionary Association at Atlanta, the Storrs' School and the Atlantic University. He was a freshman in the collegiate department when he received his appointment as a cadet, on the recommendation of the Hon. J. C. Freeman, member of Congress from the Fifth District of Tennessee. He was graduated in 1877, and now holds a commission of Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in the United States Army. As to his personal experiences at the Point, he is reticent in this autobiography. The majority of the corps, he says,

were gentlemen, who treated him on all occasions with proper politeness; but there were exceptions. But is this not the case in all classes of all colleges. His graduation was the occasion of comments from the press, as varied no doubt as his treatment from his fellows. Those who expect to find in this volume that Flipper was a persecuted martyr, or yet his graduation the signal for a social millenium in the army, will be equally disappointed. He received all that law entitled to him to receive, the courtesy and unprejudiced care of his superiors. Social distinctions are beyond the reach of legislation. Equality before the law the colored race are entitled to, and will ultimately receive. All other equality they must conquer of and by themselves. Outside interference will retard, but can never hasten it.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE WITH THE NINETY-EIGHTH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAR OF 1861. By WILLIAM KREUTZER, Colonel. 8vo, pp. 368. Philadelphia, 1878.

This work is compiled essentially from notes and observations made at the time of the occurrences the author describes. We almost wish that he had given us his impressions unchanged from his original minutes. These are the true "blood and smoke stained" pages, which are invaluable to the historian. The author leaves us in no doubt as to his politics. "It is thirteen years," he reminds us, "since the army was disbanded and Congress assumed command; and still that fair domain of ten States is literally a howling wilderness and an insurrectionary chaos;" and equally frank is his opinion of the cause for this state of things. "The large estates of the South should have been confiscated or purchased, and resurveyed and broken up; they should have been given to our soldiers and landless millions. So the nations assimilate and hold their conquests; so Rome subdued the world."

The Ninety-eighth was raised in the counties of Franklin, Wayne and Ontario. The primary organizations were made in the fall of 1861, and the regiment constituted in February, 1862, and was at once sent forward to Washington, where it was attached to Casey's division, and thoroughly drilled by that admirable and efficient officer. In April it made part of the celebrated peninsula campaign; and here we note an observation of Colonel Kreutzer on this movement. No expedition on record, he says, ever moved with such rapidity; in twelve days the Government transported 121,500 men, 14,591 animals, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries, and 74 ambulances, besides an enormous amount of equipment, provisions and other impedimenta of war; a fact which history may safely be challenged

to rival. The battle of Williamsburg is condemned as a military blunder. Competent critics we believe bear him out in this judgment. In May Casey was assigned to command at the White House, and General Peck replaced him in his division.

After the failure of the peninsula campaign, in all the battles of which it took part, the Ninety-eighth was attached to the expedition against North Carolina, and participated in the capture of Port Royal Harbor, from which they were sent to the attack on Charleston which Gillmore led. Later the Ninety-eighth was returned to Beaufort, and did good service in guarding the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad; later, when General Grant made the final movement, it took part with the Army of the James.

The book is written in a simple, pleasing style, and is full of personal incident and anecdote. It is a desirable contribution to the history of the war.

PRE-HISTORIC COPPER IMPLEMENTS.

An open letter to the Historical Society of Wisconsin. By the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

8vo, pp. 15. Privately Printed. Boston, 1879.

In this letter the remarkable progress made by the Wisconsin Society in the collection of the pre-historic remains of the Western valleys—a collection which in 1876 reached—*stone* implements alone—nine thousand pieces, representing most, if not all, of the occupations of a race, all record of whom is lost, but whose daily life and domestic economy may be almost reconstituted from these silent witnesses. Important as this collection is, it is overmatched and dwarfed by the collection of pre-historic *copper* implements, now numbering one hundred and ninety different articles, some evidently cast in moulds, and nearly all of which have been discovered in this decade. There appear, therefore, to be different data upon which to predicate a satisfactory solution to the problem, whether the makers or users of these implements were the same people who occupied the country when first discovered by Europeans, or an earlier race, antedating the American Indian. Further discoveries of new implements may have a decisive bearing on the final disposition of this question, but as it now stands the balance of evidence supplied by these implements, and the fact that all those of copper are of the same class as the stone, and similar to those known to have been made and used by the American Indians, leads to the logical inference that they were made and used by the same people. Such is the view of Mr. Slafter; but we do not see why the north-western race, which is supposed to have conquered the Moundbuilders, and to have occupied

their country, might not have learned the arts of the conquered, precisely as the hordes of northern barbarians that overrun the south of Europe, or the Goths, who conquered Arabian Spain, learned from them their arts and industries.

There is abundant evidence, however, that the Indians discovered by the French explorers were acquainted with the use of copper, while it is equally clear that the English explorers of the higher latitudes found no such implements among the Esquimaux, whose boats and huts, like their garments, were made of the skins of wild beasts. Mr. Slafter gives the original and translation of such parts of the journals of Jacques Cartier, Jean Alfonse and Champlain as refer to the use of red copper, or, as the Indians called it, *caignetdaze*. Champlain gives a description of the mode of manufacture as he heard it from an Algonquin chief, fresh from the copper region, in 1610.

Such papers as this are invaluable in their succinct treatment of single branches of the subject. The modern monograph is the most satisfactory method of historic or philosophic presentation.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE QUARTER-MILLENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1623-1878, NOVEMBER 21, 1878.

Not many such commemorations as this have occurred in the New World, with which the very name of Quarter-Millennial seems at discord. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was the mother of the Dutch churches in the city of New York. The anniversary was commemorated with solemn dignity. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the senior pastor of the church, delivered an historical discourse, in which he traced its ecclesiastical origin from the established church of Holland. For forty years the Collegiate was the only church in New Amsterdam, its first meeting place being in 1626 in a large upper room over a horse-mill; in 1633, in a wooden building, near what is now Old Slip; in 1642, a new stone edifice was erected, in which it worshipped until 1693, when the Garden street church was built. It was not till 1696 that it obtained from William of Orange a first regular charter, preceding a year or two that of Trinity. In 1729 the old Middle, on Cedar and Liberty streets, long called the New Dutch Church, and since used for the Post Office, was dedicated, and in 1769 the North, corner of William and Fulton, then in the Fields. The old church in the Fort was named St. Nicholas. The antiquary and the student of evangelical history will find abundant matter for study in these pages.

EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK; HIS LIFE, WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE. A Memoir. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1879, 8vo, pp. 16. DAVID CLAPP & SON, printers. Boston, 1879.

In the April number of the Magazine [III. 268] attention was called to the Memorial Sketch of Mr. Duyckinck read before the New York Historical Society by Mr. William Allen Butler. In the present memoir many details and incidents of the lamented scholar, by another intimate associate, happily supplement that which preceded it. We here find a careful account of Mr. Duyckinck's progenitors and parentage and a picture of the circle in which he was a leading spirit a quarter of a century ago, when Irving, Cooper, Halleck, Bryant, Charles King, William Kent, and the genial divine, Dr. Bethune, made a galaxy in the literary firmament, which attracted and riveted every eye.

Dr. Osgood examines the career of his subject from a New England point of view, and recognises in him the influence of the English type of literature, which Irving, while original in matter, closely followed and rivalled in his admirable manner. New England thought was diverted into another direction, which Dr. Osgood terms the Transcendental or German school, by Ralph Waldo Emerson. New York easily led the way in what is called belles-lettres; history, romance and essays.

The various contributions of Mr. Duyckinck in these several branches are carefully recorded in these lines. In addition, there is a section devoted to the mental and moral characteristics of Mr. Duyckinck, in which justice is done to his liberal instincts, while the tenacity with which he clung to the old faith and culture is pointed out. This is a correct appreciation of his nature. While in nothing a bigot, Mr. Duyckinck loved the old. With all the gentleness and amenity of his race, he had also all of its unswerving persistency. As a literary man, he may well be termed the last of the Knickerbockers. There are none to tread in his shoes.

MINUTES OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK, 1806-1878. A. E. M. PURDY, M. D., editor. Part I. 8vo, pp. 64. Published by the Society. New York, 1879.

In this well-edited and beautifully printed pamphlet are given the "Proceedings of the Physicians and Surgeons of the County of New York convened on the 1st day of July, 1806,"

in the front court-room of the City Hall, according to an Act of the Legislature of the State of the 4th April, 1806, "to incorporate Medical Societies for the purpose of regulating the practice of Physic and Surgery in this State." Among the names of those who attended this first meeting the old New Yorker will especially note those of Romaine, who heads the list, Anthon, Proudfit, Barrow, Moore, Post, Miller, Kissam, Hosack, Mac Neven, and Van Beuren, all famous in their day. Dr. Nicholas Romaine was elected President of "The Medical Society of the County of New York" then and there formed. The original resolution declared all members of the profession, authorized to practice by law in New York and Kings county at the period of the organization, to be *ipso facto et de jure* members of the corporation.

This first block brings the minutes of the Society to the 8th October, 1808. On this day, it is interesting to note, that one Mrs. Louisa Kastner was recommended as a practitioner of midwifery.

A TRIBUTE TO THE OLDEN TIME—

NEW YORK, 1609-1878. Pp. 10.

The 250th anniversary of the oldest church in New York City, of which Dr. Vermilye is senior pastor, suggested these stanzas to Mr. A. V. W. Van Vechten on occasion of the Annual Festival of the St. Nicholas Society, 6th December, 1878, a society of which Dr. Vermilye is Chaplain. The bright color of the tinted paper on which the lines are printed is appropriate to the Orange leaflet.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA — WESTERN STATES. 16mo, pp. 254. Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

This is the fifth in the series of these attractive volumes under the heading of America. We naturally seek in it the names of those who have made us acquainted with the glories of Western scenery. Here in stately measure Bryant describes "the Prairies, Gardens of the Desert, the unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful, for which the speech of England has no name," and Whittier follows close in lines majestic and serene. The wonders of the Mammoth Cave inspire the muse of George D. Prentice. Bret Harte delights with his descriptions of the golden land of California, and amuses with his striking drawings of character. In this volume also may be found Prentice's inspiring ode on Lookout Mountain, the scene of the battle in the clouds, which turned the scale of the Western campaign.



MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

AUGUST 1879

No. 8

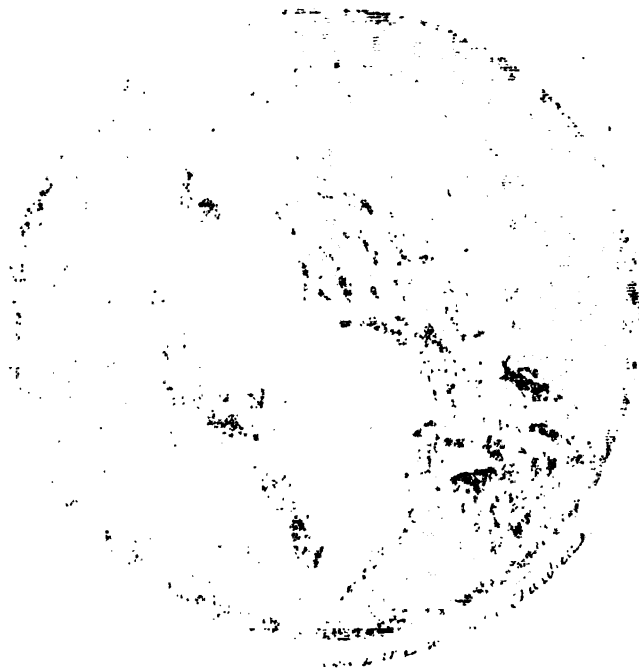
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the principle by which a person is to be judged is not the one included in the previous definition. It is the principle of the law of the land, the principle of the people, the principle of the state.

But the opposition, not allowing the
Minister to finish his speech. He came to
the conclusion, in the end, that, with out the
aid of the Government, the young gentleman being to
be a protestant, the Government making him a
slave or these and that was the most
of the Government, the Government

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. III

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THE TRADITIONAL AND THE REAL WASHINGTON

EIGHTY years have not passed since the death of George Washington, and already he is hidden from us in some degree by a haze of eulogy and tradition. He has been so uniformly extolled that some of our young men tell us, with a yawn, that they are tired of hearing Aristides called The Just. He has been edited into obscurity, like a Greek play. Where the genial and friendly soldier wrote "Old Put," a respectable editor, devoid of the sense of humor, has substituted General Putnam; until, at length, a lover of the man has to defend him against the charge of perfection. "What have I done, sir, that I should be accused of being perfect?" It seems as if the persons who have taken in charge the fame of this admirable citizen have written in the spirit of Alexander Hamilton who, at the age of twenty, expressed the opinion that "it was necessary the General should be supported." He has been supported to such a point, that now he is chiefly known to the lighter spirits of his country as the hero of a comic song entitled, "The Little Hatchet."

We can trace part of the process by which a modest and interesting character has been clouded into a tedious demi-god. For some years before his death he was claimed as the property of a political party, and eulogized accordingly. But the opposition, not allowing the claim, eulogized also, and would not be outdone in eulogy. He came to his biographers, therefore, enveloped in incense, and they, with one accord, from ponderous Marshall to fanciful Weems, from genial Irving to stately Everett, place him on a pedestal, and insist on making him a colossal statue. The least known of these authors has been the most read; he created the Washington of the Sunday-School library and barber-shop art.

Toward the close of the last century an eccentric book-seller, Weems by name, used to ride about in the southern States with an assortment of literature in his little wagon, and a fiddle under the seat. He sold

his books in the day-time from house to house, and from county to county, and in the evening, when he put up for the night at some plantation house, he was ready with his fiddle, either to amuse the family, or to go into the negro quarter and strike up a tune for the servants to dance to. He seem to have been a good-natured, easy-going man, with a talent for telling stories; a talent which makes almost any man welcome almost any where. It is related of him by the late Bishop Meade that, at an old Virginia tavern called the White Chimneys, this peddler and some strolling players met by chance one night. A performance had been announced; the people of the neighborhood had assembled; but the players had brought no music with them, though music was necessary for the proper presentation of the show. Weems volunteered to supply the deficiency, and performed on his fiddle to the general satisfaction.

I have called this man a book peddler; but that was by no means the title which he usually gave himself. If he had had such a thing as a card about him, it would have borne the words, REV. MASON LOCKE WEEMS. He had figured in the pulpit in his time, and it has been recently ascertained that he was ordained in Maryland a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. In early manhood, we find him a hanger-on, or curate unattached, in Pohick parish, near Mount Vernon, the church which was for many years attended by General Washington and his family. He used to speak of himself sometimes as the rector of that parish, but he never could have been rector of any parish. Bishop Meade of Virginia, who knew him in his own boyhood, intimates that the idea of M. L. Weems being the incumbent of a parish was preposterous. "I acknowledge," wrote the Bishop, "that he was in the habit of having the servants assemble in private houses where he would spend the night, and would recite a portion of Scripture (for he never read it out of a book), and perhaps say something to them, or in the prayer about them; but then it was in such a way as only to produce merriment." The Bishop adds that he had been an eye-witness of Weems' ludicrous exhibitions, both at his mother's house and his own, and he does not think that Weems could have long made any serious pretense to be a settled rector. It is possible he may have officiated in Pohick church in the presence of Washington, and doubtless he had often gazed upon the General with sincere veneration.

People of the present day can hardly form an idea of such a character; but in the slatternly and profuse magnificence of old Virginia there was room and sustenance for various odds and ends of human

nature; men without standing or dignity, and yet possessing qualities which made them welcome in all companies, and gave them a foot-hold in the social system of the period. Mason Locke Weems, with his fun and his fiddle, his imagination and his fluency, had points in common with that most gifted of all such Virginians, Patrick Henry. Without the opportunity which called into exercise Patrick Henry's sublime talent, that great-natured orator might have lived to the end of his days a fiddling stroller and story-teller, like his contemporary, Weems.

Bishop Meade makes jocular allusion to Weems' "very enlarged charity in all respects." He knew no sect; but in his preaching days delighted to preach in any church that would receive him, and in any parish where he could get a chance to recommend his books. Wherever there was to be an election or a court, Weems was very likely to be found with his stand for books on the piazza of the tavern. On one occasion, when the Bishop found him thus established at Fairfax Court-House, he noticed that he had among his books a copy of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. Taking it up the clergyman asked: "Is it possible you can sell such a book?" Weems instantly took from a shelf the Bishop of Llandaff's answer to Paine, and said: "Behold the antidote. The bane and the antidote are both before you." He even went further than this. He preached one day for Meade, while the rector was absent in another parish; and in the course of his sermon he pronounced a fine eulogium upon Thomas Paine and one or two other conspicuous persons of similar belief. He said, among other things, that if their spirits could return to the earth, they would be shocked to hear the falsehoods that were told of them. This is highly probable, and we can hardly agree with the Bishop in pronouncing the remark "a spurious kind of charity." On Monday, when the young rector had returned home, his mother took Weems to task for this remarkable passage of his sermon; "and I well remember," says the Bishop, "that even he was confused and speechless."

Among the polite readers of this periodical, I presume there are many who have never so much as heard the name of this singular genius. I continually meet well-informed people who know nothing of him, and who gaze with incredulity when they are told that he was not only a voluminous author, but one of the most influential that ever lived in the United States. Take one remarkable instance: It was Weems' *Life of Washington* that assisted to call forth the latent mind of Abraham Lincoln, when he was a ragged, ignorant, bare-footed boy of the frontier, fourteen years of age. He borrowed the fascinating little

book from a neighbor, and as often as he could snatch a few minutes he read it with avidity, as hundred of thousands of boys had done before him, and as thousands are now doing. It proved a costly book to the poor lad, for when it was not in use he was accustomed to place it on a shelf in his father's miserable log hut; and one night, while the future President was asleep, the rain poured through a crevice between the logs and spoiled the precious volume. Books were books on the frontier then. The owner refused to take back the damaged volume, and Abraham was obliged to pay for it by working three days at twenty-five cents a day. The book is still one of the staple commodities of the trade, although the polite world never sees it and rarely hears of it.

The best known story in this biography affords us a most curious and striking illustration of the homely old saying, that Lies never prosper. I mean the anecdote of George Washington and his hatchet, which has gone round and round the world, and been told to children in every language. We should naturally suppose that, of all the falsehoods man could invent, there could be none more harmless than a tale invented to bring home to childish minds the charms of truth and the virtues of a favorite hero. But it is this very story which invests the name of Washington with a kind of ridicule. I have mentioned the popular comic song upon the little hatchet. On the annual recurrence of Washington's birthday, there are still a few old-fashioned editors who favor the public with serious reflections upon the character and career of the first President. But it is the comic men of the press who most frequently utilize the occasion. In hundreds of newspapers they endeavor to amuse their readers with jests upon the little boy who cut down the cherry tree. I have seen three thousand people convulsed with laughter at Mark Twain's joke in one of his lectures, where he proved himself to be a better man than the father of his country; for, whereas Washington could not lie, he, Mark Twain, could, but did not. Thus, in a way which the inventive Weems was far from intending, the story does actually point the moral which he endeavored to enforce. Weems' falsehood, not George Washington's truth, conveys the lesson to us.

It was doubtless his experience as a peddler that taught him the secret of making just the books which the largest public of his day could relish. At the death of Washington he had been for some time travelling as the agent of Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, who was himself an excellent judge of the popular qualities of a book. Matthew Carey was a kind of lineal descendent of Benjamin Franklin in the Phila-

delphia book-trade. He was an Irishman who, at the early age of nineteen, brought upon himself the wrath of the Irish Parliament by the publication of a pamphlet on the iniquities of the Penal Code. The youthful author fled to Paris, where Dr. Franklin gave him employment in his private printing office for a few months, until the storm blew over. Again, a few years later, being threatened with prosecution, he escaped finally from his native land, and disguised as a woman, embarked for Philadelphia. The notoriety of his prosecution secured him a universal welcome in America. Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Robert Morris, gave him their countenance, and before he had been in the country seven years, he had made considerable progress in establishing a publishing house which was for a whole generation the leading one in America, and under various names and sub-divisions, may be said to have flourished ever since. Besides publishing the books of others, Carey was himself a voluminous and successful writer, and lived to a good old age, esteemed for his energy and benevolence. We find upon his list of publications, about the close of the last century, all the most taking books of the day, which were offered to the public at odd-looking prices, such as "five-sixths of a dollar," "four-fifths of a dollar," "one-eighth of a dollar," and others which compelled the purchaser to do a sum in fractions.

With such a publisher behind him, with such knowledge of human nature as he possessed, and a subject with whose person and abode he was familiar, Weems produced a work calculated to delight a peddler's heart. It was written a few months after the death of Washington, and proved a most profitable piece of merchandise. Mr. Allibone, in his wonderful Dictionary of Authors, speaks of "forty editions;" but, in truth, the word *edition* does not apply to a book of that nature which is manufactured, like clothes-pegs or spelling-books, as required. Sets of stereotyped plates have been worn out in reproducing it, and it still keeps its place as a staple commodity of the book-stall and the wagon. It is a fact well worthy of consideration, that a number of the books which have acquired this *staple* character are rarely seen on the shelves of an ordinary bookseller. I once had occasion to examine a copy of Paine's Age of Reason, and inquired for it in vain at all the noted book stores in Broadway. But when, at length, I found a copy in Nassau street, I was assured that the work had a steady annual sale in the United States of several thousand copies.

Conspicuous in Matthew Carey's lists from 1795 to 1800 were the works of Dr. James Beattie, the author of the Minstrel, then in the

zenith of his popularity, not only as a poet, but as a moral philosopher and defender of the faith. He was one of the many writers to whom the reaction against the French Revolution gave a prominence beyond their merits. He went all lengths against Hume and his followers, and fell into an error, far more common then than now, of treating his opponents with personal disrespect. "Our sceptics," wrote he once, "either believe the doctrines they publish, or they do not believe them; if they believe them, they are fools—if not, they are a thousand times worse." That was a short and easy way of disposing of David Hume and Adam Smith; but it gave fortune to men inferior to Beattie, and to him brought the favor of George III. and a liberal pension. Probably it was a sketch, published in 1794 by Dr. Beattie of his eldest son, which suggested to the ingenious Weems the plan of his *Life of Washington*.

"In a corner of a little garden," wrote Dr. Beattie, "without informing any person of the circumstance, I wrote in the mould, with my finger, the three initial letters of my son's name; and sowing garden cresses in the furrows, covered up the seed and smoothed the ground. Ten days after he came running to me, and with astonishment in his countenance, told me that his name was growing in the garden. I smiled at the report, and seemed inclined to disregard it; but he insisted on my going to see what had happened. 'Yes,' said I, carelessly, on coming to the place, 'I see it is so; but there is nothing in this worth notice; it is mere chance;' and I went away. He followed me, and taking hold of my coat, said, with some earnestness: 'It could not be mere chance, for that somebody must have contrived matters so as to produce it.'" The father then called the attention of his son to the various parts of his body, and their evident adaptedness to the purposes for which they were ordinarily used; until he reached the point which he desired to enforce: "What begins to be must have a cause, and what is formed with regularity must have an intelligent cause."

The boy was greatly affected, the father adds, and never forgot the lesson, nor the manner in which it was brought to his attention. Rousseau had made this mode of dealing with the youthful mind exceedingly popular, and the story was well calculated to attract the notice of the story-telling Weems. When he began his *Life of Washington*, he evidently resolved to give his readers an abundant supply of such anecdotes. He said the people had heard enough of Washington, "the hero, the demigod, the sunbeam in council, and the storm in war;" he meant to present to his countrymen Washington, the dutiful son, the affectionate brother, the cheerful school-boy, the neat draughtsman, the

widow's husband, the poor man's friend. For this he had two qualifications: a style of considerable force, and an absolute insensibility to the claims of truth; to which we may add, the artifices of the practiced story-teller.

The very opening sentence of the book shows the story-teller's tact. The name that filled the world in 1800, when he wrote the work, was Napoleon Bonaparte. Weems availed himself of the circumstance in the following manner:

"'Ah! gentlemen,' exclaimed Bonaparte—twas just as he was about to embark for Egypt—some young Americans, happening at Toulon, and anxious to see the mighty Corsican, had obtained the honor of an introduction to him. Scarcely were past the customary salutations when he eagerly asked, 'How fares your countryman, the great Washington?' 'He was very well,' replied the youth, brightening at the thought that they were the countrymen of Washington; 'he was very well, General, when we left America.' 'Ah! gentlemen,' rejoined he, 'Washington can never be otherwise than well. The measure of his fame is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions.'"

This is a very good specimen of his art. He soon entered upon his series of anecdotes respecting Washington's boyhood, which now appear so ridiculous. When his own invention failed, he did not hesitate to avail himself of the books in his wagon. He laid Dr. Beattie under contribution among others, and turned his garden story into most preposterous caricature. The father of the boy, he tells us, desiring to "startle George into a lively sense of his Maker, fell upon the following very curious, but impressive expedient: "

"One day he went into the garden, and prepared a little bed of finely pulverized earth, on which he wrote George's name at full in large letters; then strewing in plenty of cabbage seed, he covered them up, and smoothed all over nicely with a roller. This bed he purposely prepared close alongside of a gooseberry walk, which, happening at this time to be well hung with ripe fruit, he knew would be honored with George's visits pretty regularly every day. Not many mornings had passed away before in came George, with eyes wild rolling, and his little cheeks ready to burst with great news. 'Oh, pa! come here! come here!' 'What's the matter, my son? What's the matter?' 'O come here, I tell you pa; come here! and I'll shew you such a sight as you never saw in all your life time.'"

The old gentleman of course proceeds to the garden, where he discovers in large letters the full name of GEORGE WASHINGTON, upon which father and son proceed to converse in a manner which would have made Dr. Beattie abhor himself for having recorded the incident. Mr. Washington also pretended to pooh-pooh the startling phenomenon, but the boy would not accept this mode of treating it, and insisted upon knowing who made his name grow in the garden. "It grew there by chance, I suppose, my son," said the father. This explanation being vehemently rejected, a long conversation ensues, ending with the boy's rapturous acknowledgement of a First Great Cause. George at length falls into a profound silence, and "his pensive looks" showed that his youthful soul was laboring with the great idea. "Perhaps it was at that moment," adds the imaginative Weems, "that the germ of piety was engrafted on his heart, which filled his after life with such precious fruits."

The fiction of the hatchet and the cherry tree is decorated with details equally absurd; but they were such as gave pleasure to the simple childhood of past generations. The comic paragraphist has now appeared in the world, and this story, once so edifying, has fallen before him an easy prey. It was the peddler Weems nevertheless who created the traditional Washington, "the sunbeam in council, and the storm in war;" Washington, the greatest of the great, in whose overpowering presence no mortal could stand unabashed; Washington whose sublime serenity nothing was ever known to disturb, one of those majestic commanders who in no stress of circumstances could ever use "a big, big D!" The lying little book had the more weight with rustic readers of the earlier time from a fiction which the author boldly placed upon his title-page, where he styles himself, "M. L. Weems, formerly rector of Mount Vernon parish." It may be that the term rector was not very accurately defined in old Virginia, but at a later day, as remarked above, the Bishop of Virginia regarded this claim to the rectorship as something ridiculous. "His name," adds Bishop Meade, "never appears on the journals of any of our conventions." If Weems ever officiated at Mount Vernon, it must have been because there was no other clergyman to perform the duty.

On one point Weems is wisely reticent; he does not claim for his hero illustrious descent. It was reserved for later writers to construct pedigrees for George Washington, which go back far into the Middle Ages, and connect his name with persons of various distinction in English history. Some of these pedigrees, as readers are aware, have been

badly damaged by recent investigators, and there are now several awkward gaps in the line of descent which are only filled by the imagination. Dr. Jared Sparks made minute personal inquiries in England on this subject, and later writers, such as Mr. Irving and Mr. Everett, have accepted his conclusions without question. The pedigree being now in course of reconstruction, we need only observe that the *idea* given of the standing and influence of the family in Virginia by Dr. Sparks, Mr. Irving, Mr. Everett, and others, does not harmonize with some indubitable facts. Let us notice, for example, the story related by all the biographers of young Washington's declining a midshipman's berth at the last moment to please his mother. Mr. Irving has worked up this amiable tale with all his graphic power. He pictures the boy of fifteen grave and earnest, with an expanding intellect, and a deep-seated passion for martial enterprise, burning to avenge the insults to his country's flag by entering the royal navy. The great difficulty, Mr. Irving remarks, was to procure the assent of his mother! There was no difficulty at all about getting a midshipman's warrant for the scion of so distinguished a race. Only the feelings of a tender mother were in the way. She was brought at length to yield to the lad's ambitious desire; the warrant was obtained, and "it is even *said*," adds Geoffrey Crayon, "that the luggage of the youth was actually on board of a man-of-war anchored in the river, just below Mount Vernon." But at the last moment, he tells us, the mother's heart faltered. The thought of his being completely severed from her, of his being exposed to the dangers of war and the perils of the deep overcame her resolution, and the lad dutifully gave up the scheme.

How different is the plain, interesting truth from this romantic fiction! His mother, left a widow with five children, and possessing an estate which only a vigorous and able master, like her late husband, could have made of much value, was anxious to lessen the charge upon her household by procuring for this stout, energetic, hungry boy an opportunity to earn his own livelihood. She was advised to send him to sea in a tobacco ship, as an apprentice before the mast, in the hope that perhaps by good conduct he might rise to be the captain of such a ship! Those vessels were impressive and captivating objects to boys living near the Potomac or the James—mighty craft of two or three hundred tons burthen, which brought from the old country every article of luxury, and many of utility, which the planters' families desired; and returning, bore across the sea the produce of their lands.

The captain of a favorite ship was trusted with commissions of the most delicate and important nature. To this day we can discern in the demeanor of the steamboat captains on the James something of the courtesy and fatherly care that marked their progenitors, who took charge of boys going to Eton, or young ladies sent across the sea to join their parents living in England. It was the captain of the tobacco ship who bought the wedding-ring and the brocade, the fowling piece and the doll, the hogshead of Madeira and the improved plough. His arrival in the river, and the slow passage up the stream, anchoring opposite each important house, wore a kind of triumphal character, which might well have given both to George and his mother the impression that the captain of such a vessel was among the powerful and enviable men of the world.

Mrs. Washington was not living then (and never did live) in one of the Virginia mansions of the day, which, ugly and slatternly as they were, presented an imposing appearance from the river, as Mount Vernon and Arlington do at the present time. Her house was of four rooms and an attic, with a kitchen behind, and a huge chimney on the outside of it; a rude, rough, small, cheap house. Her deceased husband, as far as we can gather, was an energetic, industrious planter, who gained a considerable amount of that illusory kind of wealth which so many Virginians possessed in colonial days—ten times more land than they could make a profitable use of. The widow, anxious for the future of her boy, and finding it not the easiest thing in the world to support her family, took this sea-going project into serious consideration, and wrote to her brother, Joseph Ball, a London lawyer, for advice on the subject. He replied, May 19th, 1747, George being then about fifteen, the age assigned to the midshipman story. The following is the material part of Joseph Ball's reply:

"I understand that you are advised and have some thoughts of putting your son George to sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker, for a common sailor before the mast has by no means the common liberty of the subject; for they will press him from a ship where he has fifty shillings a month and make him take twenty-three, and cut and slash and use him like a negro, or, rather, like a dog. And as to any considerable preferment in the navy, it is not to be expected, as there are always so many gaping for it here who have interest, and he has none. And if he should get to be master of a Virginia ship (which it is very difficult to do), a planter that has three or four hundred acres of land and three or four slaves, if he be industrious, may live

more comfortably, and leave his family in better bread, than such a master of a ship can. * * * * He must not be too hasty to be rich, but go on gently and with patience, as things will naturally go. This method, without aiming to be a fine gentleman before his time, will carry a man more comfortably and surely through the world than going to sea, unless it be a great chance indeed. I pray God keep you and yours. Your loving brother, JOSEPH BALL." (Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, by Bishop Meade, Vol. 2, p. 128.)

The honest lawyer said truly that preferment in the navy fell to those who had interest; "*and he has none.*" He also indicates the kind of career which lay most obviously before the lad at the time, "a planter with three or four slaves." George inherited from his father a few hundred acres of land; upon which, but for events which no one could have foreseen, such as the death of his elder brother, and the French war, he might have lived and died, having *first* earned the means of buying a few slaves by his business as a surveyor. Land was held and sold then in Virginia in such large tracts—there was so much land for the population—that there was considerable employment for surveyors, and we find that it gave the first lift in life to two men of great note, the father of Jefferson and the Father of his Country.

There was nothing in Washington of the feudal aristocrat. As a young man, there was little in his position, in his prospects, or in the traditions of his family, to nourish that cast of character, or the pretensions to which it gives rise. Men who have a pedigree which confers distinction are generally, at least, aware of the fact; but Washington, until his celebrity as the head of a forming republic excited the curiosity of mankind as to his origin, seems scarcely to have bestowed a thought upon it. When he was written to concerning his family during his presidency, he replied that he had paid very little attention to the subject, his time having been so much occupied in the active scenes of life. He intimates, too, that he had taken no interest in the matter. The status of the family is further shown by his failure to procure a commission in the King's army after he had won personal distinction of the most signal kind during the Braddock campaign. He had previously rendered services to the empire; he possessed the confidence of the Governor of Virginia; his name was mentioned in every gazette of Europe which chronicled public events; he made repeated and earnest applications for a commission; but his efforts were not successful. As Mr. Everett remarks, commissions were monopolized by the younger sons of influential families, and favorites of men in power.

Still less was he a man of rich and striking mental endowments. To attribute great intellectual qualities to George Washington is to rob him of his true glory, and to rob us of his inspiring example. It was part of his glory that he was *not* greatly endowed. The Frenchman who defined genius to be a "form of idiocy," might have illustrated his paradox by the example of this strong, slow, prudent, honorable, conscientious citizen, citing him as the man of all others the farthest removed from the idiocy of exceptional mental gifts. The endearing charm of his character arises from the fact that, without possessing mental qualities of extraordinary force or brilliancy, he habitually used the whole of what mind he had in discovering the right course. Only in one particular was he exceptionally gifted. He had a genius for rectitude. There, indeed, he was extraordinary; perhaps unique among public men. As Mr. Jefferson remarked, he never acted until he had exhausted every means within his reach of ascertaining the true course; and when that had been decided, he was able to hold to his purpose with a firmness impossible to a man of more varied gifts and warmer sympathies. "His justice," said Mr. Jefferson, "was the most inflexible I have ever known. No motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision." It is *this* trait which makes his example at once consoling and animating to beings so limited as ourselves. To make such a man a demi-god is to degrade him. It is as if we should paint a solid and kindly squire of a parish, the benignant and just father of his neighborhood, as a Jupiter Tonans, and send him down to posterity disguised in the tinsel trappings of the stage.

Upon reading the sentences which conclude Mr. Everett's article upon Washington in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which he places his hero at the summit of human nature, we are tempted to ask: If the highest perfection of a modern character is attainable without the aid of our so much vaunted means of culture, why send our elect youth to the universities? What right have institutions of learning to exist? Why gather libraries, why investigate, why write, why cultivate the arts, if the Consummate Man can be formed with so little assistance from them? A strenuous conflict with outward things develops strength and practical ability; but in these modern days, recorded knowledge, and that alone, gives the wide sweep of observation which statesmanship demands. The ideal education, the university of our dreams, combines work and study, thought and things, head and hand; places the student at his desk in the morning, on the farm in the afternoon, and at the ball in the evening; makes him a laborer, a man of

business, a thinker, and a gentleman, all at once. But this is only the ideal university, for which we must be content to wait long. Washington, like most of the sons of men, had full access, in his early days, to only one of the means of development—a close contact with rude things and average men. He was aware that this is not the whole of education, and there were times when he lamented that he possessed but the most indispensable part of it. "As far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder," remarks Mr. Jefferson. It is the right use of books, man's recorded experience, which widens, lengthens, deepens the range of our vision; and in modern times, nothing can keep the truly superior intelligence from the knowledge which is its natural nutriment. Franklin found it in his father's soap-house; Jefferson found it at dissolute Williamsburgh.

In common with most men of native force, George Washington inherited the instinct of thriving, which book-culture is apt to lessen injuriously. He came of a thriving race, and was himself of the stuff that prosperous gentlemen are made of. As a youth of sixteen on his surveying tours he endured every sort of hardship and privation, sleeping in log-huts of one room, "with man, wife and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire." But he had a consolation, which enabled him to bear this mode of existence, "a doubloon every day, and sometimes six pistoles." At nineteen he had the opportunity of spending a few weeks at Barbadoes. His comments upon what he saw there are full of sound, worldly sense. He descants upon the richness of the soil, records the price of sugar, and the quantity that can be produced from an acre. He wonders that a people, living in such favorable circumstances, should be ruinously in debt, and unable to indulge in the luxuries of life. In his diary at this time there is one short entry, which does not savor of land and business. He mentions that he was treated to a ticket to see the play of George Barnwell; but he does not presume to express an opinion upon the performance, the drama being wholly out of his previous range of observation. "The character of Barnwell," he records, "and several others were said to be well performed." He also observes that there was music on the occasion, which was "adapted and regularly conducted." It was characteristic of the man that he should have used the expression, "*said* to be well performed;" for the same trait is frequently observable on occasions of the greatest importance. There were times in his public life when he painfully distrusted his own judgment, and gave his decision according to the judgment of another man,

because he had reason to believe it be the best judgment attainable. We notice too at this early day how heartily he accepted the state of feeling into which he had been born. He mentions the governmental abuses to which the people of Barbadoes were subject, but ventures no remonstrance; and we can scarcely help smiling at the amiable illusion he is under, in common with his fellow colonists, respecting George II., whom he styles "the best of kings," and by other affectionate names.

It is to be noted also that he was by no means one of the young gentlemen who are romantically squeamish about seeking posts to which they are fairly entitled. At twenty-two we find him asking the Governor of Virginia to procure for him the post of lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia forces, and when a distinction was made between the troops from England and the army of Virginia, he remonstrated in the most vigorous manner against the indignity. He would have for himself and his brother officers the same compensation, both in honor and in money, as the officers of the royal army, or else he would accept no pay at all. "We have the same spirit to serve our gracious king as they have," said he, "and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our country's good." He declared that he would prefer to dig for a maintenance than serve upon ignoble terms. Finally, when in spite of his brilliant and valuable services, he was denied the recognition he craved, a commission in the royal army, he retired from the service.

Twice, it appears, he sought to improve his fortune by marriage; once, with success. Virginia tradition in the olden time was clear and constant that he first paid suit to a great New York heiress, who in his long absence on military service gave her hand to another. Three years later he married Mrs. Custis, a widow with two children and a large estate; and this union it was that placed him among the social chiefs of the colony.

Nor is it very probable that in Virginia, as then constituted, he would have been able without such a marriage to have reached a high position. Old Virginia was already upon the decline. The rich river lands were in course of exhaustion; the price of tobacco, long very low, was still going down; the charges upon the article in London frequently consumed the planter's profit; and every manufactured article was brought across the sea. Add to these circumstances the slack and costly system of agriculture by slaves, who were then far more dilatory and indolent than in our day. It does not appear that George Washington, even with his double inheritance, his own estate, his brother's,

and the large increase which came to him upon his marriage, was able to make head against the abuses of the system. It is not probable that by his own exertions he could have acquired a liberal estate during an ordinary lifetime. The circumstances which had favored his father were passing away, and Virginia was reaping the consequences of a long persistence in erroneous methods.

Readers are familiar with the diary of George Washington as a Virginia planter, and they are aware that the old system frequently baffled his utmost exertions. With a hundred and two cows, as he records, he was sometimes obliged to buy butter for his table, and his mill was fifty-five minutes in grinding one bushel of corn. It is amusing to see him observe the proceedings of his shiftless negroes, when he sat, as it were, watch in hand, timing Tom and Mike while they hewed a poplar log in thirty minutes, the master patiently noting that they spent "twenty-five minutes more in getting the cross-cut saw, standing to consider what to do, sawing the stock off in two places, and preparing for further hewing." He took all this inefficiency in good part, and spent many years of his life in tranquil, but ineffectual endeavors to impart to negroes something of the spirit and sense of free laborers. He could not boast of much success. With such negroes, and such overseers, it was of little avail to procure from London the best book upon farming; and we can infer from his diary that, in common with his brother planters, he learned to put up with exceedingly slack performance. Upon his Virginia farms he developed that wonderful patience with the incapacity of others which he displayed during the revolutionary war. He built at length one of the best barns in the province; but on coming home one day, after an absence on public service, he found his negroes treading out his grain with horses out-of-doors, all in the good old-fashioned way, to which they, and their fathers, and their fathers' fathers had been accustomed. Nothing but his large capital saved him from embarrassment, and probably that would have scarcely sufficed if he had lived fifteen years longer in the liberal manner expected of him. There are several indications in his later letters that he was far from having the feeling of ease and safety which a rich man should have, and which constitutes one of his chief advantages over other men.

As a country gentleman living upon his estates during the fifteen years' interval of peace, he presents himself in an attractive, but not impressive light. He accepted and enjoyed his good fortune in the manner of the period, being particularly noted for his ardent love of

fox hunting. In the hunting season he would be out with such hounds as he had two or three times a week. He gave the unhappy foxes of Mount Vernon no peace. He maintained also the prescribed chariot of colonial Virginia, and enjoyed the public balls given occasionally at Alexandria. Nor was he the grave and austere personage we are frequently asked to think him. The direst editing has not succeeded in removing from his published writings all traces either of the kindly humor or the hot temper of the man. He was evidently fond of his jest, and could roar with laughter on occasion. His wit was not brilliant, but it sufficed to amuse guests well disposed to merriment after dinner. Upon reading his diary we can fancy him telling them of the ball he attended at Alexandria, when there was such a plentiful lack of the dainties usually provided at such entertainments: "However, in a convenient room, detached for the purpose, abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some biscuits, with tea and coffee, which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water sweetened. Be it remembered that pocket-handkerchiefs served the purposes of table-cloths and napkins, and that no apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the style and title of the bread and butter ball." This is kind, homely, country humor, pleasant to read and remember. It was not a killing joke to call this ball by the style and title of the bread and butter ball, but in those simple days such a jest would pervade a county, and be remembered for many months.

Nor has decorous editing quite concealed from us that Colonel Washington could lose his temper. Mr. Jefferson speaks of his temper as "naturally irritable and high-toned," though he learned to keep it well under control. Occasionally it blazed out, even in his later years. We ought, perhaps, to be grateful to a decorous editor for not withholding the letter of 1771 to an officer who had complained of not receiving his allotment of land. This individual had shown less alacrity in meeting the enemy in the field than he did in claiming the rewards of service, and after a narrow escape from cashiering, complained of being defrauded of his land. It is a relief, after gazing upon the imbecile portraits of Washington, from which every trace of blood and fire has been ruthlessly obliterated, to read the letter which he wrote in reply to this individual. He acknowledges the receipt of the impertinent letter. "As I am not accustomed," he adds, "to receive such from any man, nor would have taken the same language from you personally without letting you feel some marks of my resentment, I would advise you to be cautious in writing a second of the same tenor." He informs him

that his full quantity of land had been allotted him; a fact which he would have known but for his "stupidity and sottishness." No doubt other peppery epistles would have appeared in his works, but for the supposed necessity of presenting the public with an imperturbable character.

During the eleven years' war of words between the colonies and the mother country, which preceded the seven years' conflict of arms, Colonel Washington was not active or conspicuous in the dispute; but his judgment of it at every moment was sound. He had, happily, *not* the martial spirit; he loved his country, the British Empire; it had been the longing of his life to visit the metropolis of that empire. But when it became a question between liberty and loyalty, the only doubt with him was concerning the most effectual mode of preserving liberty. As early as 1769 he expressed the opinion to George Mason that, in defence of liberty, no man should scruple to use arms. But arms should be the last resource. Addresses and remonstrances had proved ineffectual, and he then favored the scheme of starving their trade and manufactures. When blood had been shed at Lexington, it excited within him, not resentment, not the martial spirit, but only the profoundest sorrow. "Unhappy it is," he wrote, "to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are to be either drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" No utterance of the period is more noble or more affecting than this. A martial hero would not have felt so. A man overcome by new wealth and lost in his estates would not. It was the "virtuous man," it was the good citizen, who spoke those simple and touching words.

At the same time, let us not shrink from the undeniable fact that, during this long period, he was not a leader of the movement. He shared its best spirit and sided with its best men, but he did not contribute to it, so far as we can discern, either ideas or impulse. He attended faithfully in his seat in the House of Burgesses, though taking scarcely any part in the debates; and when members gathered in the evening round the great fire-place in the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, though his voice gave no uncertain sound, he had little to say on the great question. He saw the point clearly enough; he gave his opinion frankly enough; but he could not discuss it with any fluency or force. He possessed, in full measure, that ancient British terror of public speaking, which makes a man quake before an audience who could cheerfully head a forlorn hope.

It is impossible to overstate his merits in the Revolutionary war, because, during that conflict, the very defects of his constitution were of the greatest assistance. It may be true, as has been frequently alleged, that a more daring and masterful spirit would have driven the British out of Boston some months before their actual departure; but could a spirit of that temper and quality have endured to serve for seven weary years such a shifting, changing, intangible master as the Continental Congress? There were times when he seemed too deferential to a council of war. He felt so himself; but just that habitual deference was necessary to the success of a revolution which had nothing behind it that could be called a government, and which had to be carried on from campaign to campaign by shifts and compromises. A leader of military genius would never have let the British army get away from Long Island in 1776; but such a man must of necessity have absorbed the revolution into himself, and obtained a personal importance which would have been fatal to its best aspirations. Occasionally, during the war, the soldier flashed out with memorable brilliancy; for Washington, if not a military genius, was a thoroughly good soldier. Doubtless, if he had entered the royal army in his early manhood, he would have gradually won his way to respectable rank, and perhaps to the highest rank. There does not appear to have been anything in the European career of Wellington of which George Washington would have been incapable.

Issuing from the Revolutionary war with a reputation splendid and universal, he gave proof of admirable virtue in accepting the duties which that reputation imposed. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, his position as Chairman excluded him from debate, and so far as the records disclose, he contributed nothing to the Constitution in the way of original suggestion. We can see, however, that he was aware of the necessity of exempting the head of a nation from some of the conditions and temptations of ordinary human life. He wished the President to be elected for a fixed term of seven years, and then to be ineligible for seven years more. He was opposed to Hamilton's scheme of a senate elected for life, and he thought that on some subjects of vital importance a vote of two-thirds of the whole legislature ought to be required.

The present Constitution, in some of its leading features, was a compromise, a part of the chronic, still unended compromise, between the North and the South. He held himself free from the intrigues of the closing weeks. He told Mr. Jefferson, in 1792, that the Constitution, as

agreed to a fortnight before the Convention arose, was one to which he would have set both his hands and his heart. Probably there was not a man in the convention who knew less either of science or the history of government than the President of the body. It was simply his knowledge of average men, which led him to the conclusion that the chief of a nation must be personally disinterested in the conduct of affairs; as much so as the foreman of a jury in the cases which he decides. It is to be lamented that the President of the Convention, wielding such an unequalled influence, should have been unable to contribute anything to the Constitution from the past experience of mankind. When Hamilton asserted, in season and out of season, that monarchy was the only government that had, or could have, any sort of stability, a very slight knowledge, even of the history of that century, would have shown that monarchy is, of all conceivable governments, the one most dependent upon accidents. The whole history of Europe refutes Hamilton. A competent statesman must possess more knowledge than his own experience furnishes, or his own mind evolves. If General Washington, during the fifteen years when he had lived peacefully at home, a Virginia country gentleman, had spent a few hours a week in the study of men and events, as they are conveniently massed and grouped in books, he would have been better able to meet the arguments of the reactionary party in the Convention.

The presidency of General Washington would be a highly interesting study, if only we could approach it without passion and without prejudice. But who has been able to do this? No one. Who will ever be able? Some of the questions which divided the cabinet, and tasked the judgment of the first President, can never be discussed by mortal men without a degree of warmth that may at any moment blaze up into fiery passion; our interests are involved in them, as well as our feelings; they belong to that system of readjustment which goes on forever between the interests of the few and the interest of the whole. For the first time in his life, General Washington had to deal with subjects for the due consideration of which his past experience had given him no preparation. Never was a public trust more conscientiously fulfilled; never was an administration conducted with an eye more single to the public good: the most trivial appointment and the most important measure were equally subjected to the test of intrinsic fitness. On the moral side, the conduct of the President was absolutely without flaw. But partial history (there being no such thing as impartial history) will lament that the weight and influence of General

Washington should have been given finally to a party not in harmony with the genius of the country, and strangely incapable of wise conduct. Partial history, I say, will lament this. What view impartial history would take of it, if there were such a thing, it would be a waste of time to inquire.

Surely it was not wise, in a cabinet of four members, to place two men who could contribute so little to its sum of intelligence as General Knox and Edmund Randolph. Events proved the incompetency of both, as well in private affairs as in public. Both had served with the General in the field, and we know that for Knox he had a feeling warmer than friendship; he "loved" him; and we may fairly infer that this comradeship had much to do with both appointments. Edmund Randolph, moreover, had lost his inheritance by espousing the cause of his country when his father had adhered to that of the King. Hamilton and Jefferson, the other members, were men of honor, ability and force, equally concerned for the welfare of the country; but they differed totally and hopelessly as to the means of securing that welfare. With what patience the President, bewildered sometimes by their vehement debates, strove to hold the balance between those two positive and irreconcilable spirits! For his own part, he had confidence only in the teachings of experience. Theories were of little weight with him; he could scarcely conceive how men so able and intelligent as he esteemed them both to be, could maintain theories of government with so much ardor. In one particular, he greatly surpassed both of his chief advisers: he did justice to their motives. As Jefferson remarked in later years, the President was "unversed in financial projects, calculations and budgets," and, so far as he approved of Hamilton's financial system, his approval was founded on his confidence in the man. He had as little sympathy with the enthusiasm which Jefferson brought home from France for equal liberty and equal rights, but he thought those opinions were salutary as "a check" upon Hamilton's conservative convictions. He was conscious that neither of those men possessed the whole truth of politics, but supposed that each of them had a valuable part of it. If Jefferson held the right sentiment, Hamilton, perhaps, had the right methods, or was capable of furnishing them; and from the conflict of two minds so fiercely diverse, he hoped the truth would issue.

Jefferson, trained from youth in republican ideas, believed that men could govern themselves, as well on the great scale as on the small. Hamilton, as we know, not merely did not hold this opinion, but had little patience with it; he held it in contempt, as an evidence of provin-

cial narrowness or fanaticism. Jefferson, a native of Virginia, descended from a Jefferson who was a member of the first legislative body that ever sat on the Western Continent, a Virginian of the Virginians, was opposed by patriotic instinct to every measure which made Virginia seem anything less than sovereign. Hamilton, not a native of the country, was devoid of sympathy with the pride of New Yorkers in New York, and with the pride of Virginians in Virginia. He would have willingly seen State government abolished, and State lines obliterated. No man unassisted by feeling would have been equal to the invention of the federal system. But Jefferson *was* assisted by his feelings, and he took naturally to the doctrine of strict construction. The American system, as he conceived it, and as Madison expounded it, was then and is now the one chance of the United States: a central government very simple, inexpensive, unimposing, and strictly confined to the duties assigned it by the letter of the constitution; leaving to the States every other governmental function. Never was there anything devised so excellent, so safe, so practicable. I see in it the solution, not merely of our own political problems, but of those which perplex and alarm Europe and parts of Asia. No man can foresee how long the struggle will last in the Old World between dynasties and peoples, between authority and freedom, between equality and privilege; but if the inhabitants of Christendom really have it in them to advance in political knowledge and self-control, nothing is more certain than that the American federal system—*e pluribus unum*—as it existed in the minds of Jefferson and Madison, modified by time, place and events, is the system in which they will find peace and safety at last.

To Hamilton, half Scotch, half French, and thirty-three years of age, the maturely considered political ideas of Jefferson and Madison, both long trained in public life, seemed but the fond dreams of enthusiasts. The difference between Jefferson and Hamilton being radical, one that affected every subject and every measure, the President had occasion for all his tact, as well as all his forbearance. We have a good example of his mode of dealing with them in the cabinet discussions of the project of founding a Military Academy. Every soldier knows that a soldier is *made* as well as born; and, hence, General Washington had the scheme of the Academy very much at heart. It was proposed in the cabinet to recommend Congress in the President's message to establish such an institution. Mr. Jefferson objected that none of the specified powers given by the constitution to Congress would authorize this. The President remarked that he thought a military academy would be a

good thing, but was unwilling to propose any measure which might generate heat or ill humor. After some discussion he said he would not choose to recommend anything against the constitution, but if it was *doubtful*, he was so impressed with the necessity of having an academy that he would refer it to Congress, and let them decide for themselves whether the constitution authorized it or not. This discussion indicates the whole difference between the two parties. Jefferson would have had the States train young men for the army and navy, if special training was necessary, leaving to the general government only the task of selecting them when trained.

From the first day, Knox and Hamilton were the members who had the more familiar confidence of the President, and they improved their advantage. They were under a political necessity to make the most of his glory; while the Republicans were subject to a similar necessity of keeping it within rational limits. Mere trifles show this also. When the President was to take the oath for the second time, the question arose in the cabinet as to the ceremonial which ought to be observed. General Knox desired the ceremonial to be elaborate and imposing. The conversation grew warm, as usual, Knox swearing that the government must be entirely remodeled or it would be knocked to pieces in ten years. He said he would not give a copper for it, and maintained that the country was held together, not by the written Constitution, but *by the President's character*. A sentiment of this kind was frequently repeated in the newspapers, in Congress, in the Cabinet, and even in the President's drawing-room. General Washington would not have been mortal if he had not insensibly inclined toward the party which accepted this doctrine, and gradually lost relish for men who were obliged to give it emphatic and very frequent denial. The events of the time, too, could not but have weight with a man who brought every doctrine to the test of experience. The news of the capture of Louis XVI. and his family, and their ignominious return to Paris, was whispered to the President one evening at his public assembly. He loved France; he was grateful to her people and her king; he had none of Hamilton's insensibility to the defects of the British model; he was wholly and forever weaned from "the mother country." But this news struck him to the heart. "I never saw him so much dejected by any event in my life," says Mr. Jefferson. After the execution of the King, he probably had little faith in government by town meeting.

The well-known passage in which Mr. Jefferson gives his explanation of Washington's final surrender to the Federalists, is accepted only by those of his inclining.

"His memory," wrote Mr. Jefferson in 1818, "was already sensibly impaired by age, the firm tone of mind for which he had been remarkable was beginning to relax, its energy was abated, a listlessness of labor, a desire for tranquility, had crept upon him, and a willingness to let others act, and even think for him. Like the rest of mankind he was disgusted with the atrocities of the French revolution, and was not sufficiently aware of the difference between the rabble who were used as instruments of their perpetration, and the steady and rational character of the American people, in which he had not sufficient confidence."

Happily for his own peace, and not less happily, perhaps, for the country, he was released from his uncongenial position before the later complications of the revolutionary period. The term of seven years, which he had preferred in the Convention of 1787, is probably as long as any man can advantageously hold the Presidency. The strain upon the faculties of a good man is too severe to be longer borne, and a young country must needs grow faster than an elderly mind. After 1793, the politics of the United States were of necessity involved with those of Europe, and questions arose which General Washington was unfitted to cope with. He knew no history, much as he valued the teachings of experience. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776; it had not instructed him. He was exact and honorable in his private expenditures, but he had all a country gentleman's aversion to national finance. The machinery of liberty was to be created; but when he left the Presidency it was not clear to him that men were fit to be entrusted with liberty. If he had been himself an educated man, the ignorance and incapacity of some of his advisers would have been known to him; he would have given his heart and confidence to the men who represented and possessed the modern spirit.

His Presidency affords us consoling proof of the power there is in absolute integrity. On almost every important question, even of remote and foreign politics, it led him to a safe decision, or enabled him to leave the problem to the solution of time. Both his judgment and his temper were severely tried, and both were occasionally tried beyond their strength. His explosions of honest anger only endear him to us the more. What wonder that he should burst into rage on reading in the party papers that he was scheming to make himself King, at a time when his soul and body were sickening for retirement! There is no scene in romance more powerful or more affecting than Tobias Lear's recollection of the President receiving the awful news, in the midst of a dinner party, of the surprise and massacre of St. Clair's troops by the

Ohio Indians; how he returned to the table with unchanged countenance; after dinner calmly going through all the ceremonious proceedings of Mrs. Washington's reception; preserving his usual serenity and urbanity of demeanor, until he found himself alone with his secretary. Then, and not till then, he uttered a cry of mingled grief and indignation: "It's all over! St. Clair's defeated—routed! The officers nearly all killed; the men by wholesale—the rout complete! Too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain!" His anger grew as he recalled the parting scene: "Here on this very spot I took leave of him. I wished him success and honor. 'You have your instructions,' I said, 'from the Secretary of War; I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word: Beware of a surprise! I repeat it, Beware of a surprise! You know how the Indians fight.'" He heaped imprecations upon the unfortunate General: "Oh God, oh God, he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country?" But the storm subsided ere long. The man had spoken, and the Commander-in-Chief resumed: "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches, saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars; I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice."

The whole scene is characteristic; it shows how acutely he could feel, how firmly he could control his feelings, and how quickly he could resume control, if for a moment he had lost it.

Perhaps, of all the utterances of George Washington, the one that best reveals to us his *habit* of fidelity, was a question which he asked upon his death-bed. It was late in the afternoon of his last day. He felt that he could not long retain his consciousness, and that he must do speedily whatever remained to be done by him. He had sent for the two wills; he had seen Mrs. Washington burn the one which had been superseded, and put the other in a closet; he had given Tobias Lear his last directions concerning his accounts, his letters and his papers. He then thought his work was done; but he was not quite sure of it. There might be something that he had forgotten, the omission of which would cause inconvenience. "He then asked me," says Lear, "if I recollected anything which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us." It was the ruling principle strong in death. It was the habit of a life-time asserting itself when soul and body were parting. It was George Washington dying. Five hours after, his breathing became suddenly easier. He felt his own pulse, as if to ascertain the cause of the change. As he exhaled his last breath, the hand fell from the wrist.

In this deliberate manner, with his fingers upon his own pulse, he yielded up his life, retaining to the last a mind composed enough to take an interest in the physical facts of death. As he had sat, forty years before, watching and timing his negroes sawing timber, he was, probably, not more collected than he was at the last moment of his life. That he retained, also, the esteem and confidence of the great body of his countrymen, was indicated by a letter from the ruling spirit of the Federalists, which reached Mount Vernon when he was no more. The letter urged him to stand again for the Presidency as the surest means of keeping out the dreadful democrats.

In quieter times, in an established order of things, he had been as nearly perfect a head of a republic as can ever be hoped for. Men of eminent gifts and acquirements are generally out of place at the head of a government. Such men are needed to suggest, to advise and to aid. Such belong properly to the cabinet, to the legislature, and to the courts of justice. But the head of the State should represent the great body of its well-disposed and self-sustaining people. In him a gifted cabinet and a brilliant debater should see a good specimen of the people they are working for. By the impression a measure makes upon his mind, they should be able to learn how it will strike the average good citizen, on his farm, in his shop, on his vessel. Rarely brilliant, always prudent, with moderate power to open his mouth, but mighty to keep it shut, reasonably benevolent, but greatly just, he should be a large sound, well-choosen specimen of the solvent and steadfast men who hold up the world.

JAMES PARTON

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT PREAKNESS

During the first three weeks of July, 1780, Washington had his headquarters at Preakness, New Jersey, lodging at the house of Colonel Theunis Dey. The main body of the army was encamped along the Totowa Heights, near the Great Falls of the Passaic river, Colonel Moyland's Pennsylvania Dragoons occupying an advanced position at the Little Falls, on the opposite side of the river,' while the Marquis de la Fayette had his headquarters at the residence of Samuel Van Saun, near Sandford's race track, and about a mile from the Dey house.'

From October 9 until November 27, 1780, the army was again encamped at Totowa,' evidently on the same site as during the preceding July; but as there was a greater array of troops at this time, they covered a more extended area. Lafayette now held the left,' his Light Infantry corps, formed in August,' with Major Lee's Virginia troop of Light Horse, occupying a small elevation on the extreme east, along the eastern bank of the Goffle stream, where it flows into the Passaic river,' not far from the present suburb of Paterson, known as Hawthorne. He had his headquarters near the Ryerson homestead, Mr. Richard Degray's barn now occupying almost the precise site. On his left stretched a fine plain, for a mile, to the Wagraw neighborhood. When he revisited the United States in 1824-5, he passed through this locality and was amused to see that some of his former soldiers had remembered the old camp, and had put up a rough board sign to designate it, on the Goffle brook.'

The main army was encamped on a broad plateau stretching from the Passaic river perhaps half a mile, to the base of the Preakness mountain, and at an elevation of from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet above the river, so that it was admirably situated for defence. Several ample fields afforded fine opportunities for exercising the troops in military evolutions. The Grand Parade ground was near the Falls,' the spot being now built over by the second ward of the city of Paterson, then undreamed of. The army was stretched along the base of the Preakness hills for a distance of six or seven miles, from Wagraw on the left wing to Lower Preakness, or Singack,' as it is generally called, on the right. The advanced guard, consisting of Moyland's Dragoons and Major Parr's Rifle Corps, were stationed south of the Passaic river, the former near the Little Falls, to protect the approach from Newark and Elizabeth-

town from the west side of the First Mountain, as well as the road through the Great Notch, while the Rifle Corps occupied a broad ravine northeast of the Notch, in a position to command it, and also to patrol the roads leading into it from Acquackanonk and Newark." Although Major Parr's corps held this post less than two weeks, being then removed a mile or two further west, where he could protect the Cranetown Gap and the Notch at the same time," his former position is to this day known by the people in the neighborhood as "the Rifle Camp." Thirty or forty years ago, the remains were still plainly visible of the ovens built by the riflemen for their meagre baking. It is said that Washington caused a lookout to be erected on the summit of the peak on the east side of the Notch, whence he could obtain a clear view of the whole country for twenty miles or more, including New York, Newark, Elizabethtown, Haverstraw, Hackensack, etc. Tradition also asserts that he caused great masses of stones to be piled up on this hill, to be rolled down upon any troops that might undertake to force a passage through the gap.

The General doubtless had pleasant recollections of his first stay at the Dey mansion, and therefore occupied it in October and November, when the army was again in the vicinity. It certainly was not at all convenient to the army; so remote, indeed, that he felt constrained to relieve the officers of the day from attending at headquarters "when there was nothing more than common to report." General Knox, with his artillery, may have been within a mile or two of headquarters;" the main body of the army was at least three or four miles distant, while Lafayette was seven or eight miles from Washington; Moyland's Dragoons and Parr's Riflemen were from two to four miles to the southwest. It is a common tradition in the neighborhood, and one borne out by contemporaneous records, that Washington had reason at this time to anticipate attempts to effect his capture; consequently, there was excellent cause for his keeping himself out of the reach of possible raids by Simcoe's daring cavalry, or any other party that might seek to secure his person. His selection of camp ground and headquarters was well calculated to prevent surprise. The First Mountain formed a natural defence for his army; the Passaic river another; back of that arose a steep bluff, surmounted by the plateau already mentioned; then came the Preakness hill; over this range, in one of the most beautiful valleys, stood the dwelling of Colonel Dey. Charming vistas extended for many miles through the openings in the mountains in almost every direction, and the plain was traversed by roads leading to New-

ark, Elizabethtown, Springfield, Middletown and Southern New Jersey ; to Totowa, Acquackanonk and Hackensack on the southeast, and Paramus, Pompton and Ringwood toward the northeast.

A century ago, the building must have been one of the finest in New Jersey, for it is yet remarkable for its architectural symmetry and the artistic finish of the masonry. It is about one hundred yards from the main road, facing south ; it is two stories in height, with a double pitch roof, through which a recent owner has pierced some windows, giving it the appearance of a mansard. The building is about fifty-two feet long, and about thirty feet deep. The front is of brick, the doorway and windows trimmed with polished brown sandstone, squared and set in the most accurate manner ; the sides and rear are of rubble work, the windows and doors trimmed with brick, the sides above the eaves being carried up in brick. All the masonry is laid up in yellow clay, pointed on the outside with mortar, yet the walls are perfectly firm, and are apparently good for another hundred years. The timbers, where exposed, in the cellar and attic, are of hewn oak, of the most massive description, and all morticed and pinned with wooden pins. Through the centre, from south to north, runs a hall, twelve feet wide, on either side of which are two rooms, a fireplace faced with rubbed brown sandstone in each. The ceilings on the first floor are about nine feet, and on the second floor eight feet high. Nearly all the rooms are decorated with quaint old wooden cornices, grooved in a peculiar manner. According to the Marquis de Chastellux, Washington occupied four of the rooms"—probably two on each floor. Tradition has mainly preserved reminiscences of one room—in the southeast corner of the first floor ; this is pointed out as "Washington's room." It was his audience chamber and dining room ; the family dined in the great hall. The space above the fireplace in the General's office is ornamented with elaborate paneling and grooved woodwork, to correspond with the cornices. The walls, Washington is said to have had papered at his own expense, and the paper was not removed until about ten years ago. The account given by de Chastellux of his stay at this house in November, 1780, is one of the most entertaining passages in his exceedingly interesting "Travels," and the glimpse it gives of Washington at the table is charming.

So far as is known, the British never attempted to molest the American troops at Totowa but once. Then a party of the Continentals who had been on a foray toward Acquackanonk, were chased by Hessians. They retreated successfully across the Totowa bridge, which they

destroyed. The British followed, and in their eager haste attempted to wade through the river, here quite shallow, the officers mounted on the backs of the privates! A few volleys from the Americans on the opposite Heights checked their ardor, and they hastily retired.

A few words may not be out of place regarding the Dey family. In the records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York we find the marriage on December 28, 1641, of "Dirck Janszen, j. m. Van Amsterd. en Jannetje Theunis, j. d. als Voren." The bachelor and spinster were both from Amsterdam. According to the Dutch custom, their first son was named Jan, after his paternal grandfather, and the second, baptized September 24, 1656, received the name of his maternal grandfather, Teunis. Among the same records we find, January 16, 1685, "Teúnis Deij," j. m., Van N. Yorck, en Anneken Schouten, j. d. als boven, beijde wonende alhier." Teúnis owned a farm of five and a half acres, 309 feet front on Broadway, and 800 feet deep to the Hudson River, the farm being now intersected by Dey street." He had a son Dirck, baptized in New York March 27, 1687. In 1717 (October 9), Dirrick Dey, "of the County of Bergen in the Province of East New Jersey, yeoman," bought for £120 of the heirs of Thomas Hart, one of the original Twelve Proprietors of East Jersey, a tract of land on the "Singhack Brook," containing 600 acres, "besides ten in the hundred allowance for Barrens and highways." In 1730, "Dirick Dey of Pachgannick," yeoman, for £50 bought of Peter Sonmans a triangular plot of 200 acres in the same neighborhood." He left a son Theunis, who probably erected the dwelling which Washington made his headquarters. He was a Colonel of the Bergen County Regiment of Militia in the early part of 1776, his son Richard (Derrick) being Captain in the same regiment, and afterwards Major." Theunis was in the New Jersey Assembly in 1776, and in 1779, 1780 and 1781 represented Bergen county in the Council, returning to the Assembly in 1783. In 1780, Mrs. Colonel (Theunis) Dey and Mrs. Major (Richard) Dey were appointed on the Committee of Bergen County Ladies to raise funds for the relief of the American troops." Soon after the war, Richard Dey was Sheriff of Bergen county, County Collector, General of Militia, and held other offices. In 1801 he sold his homestead, with 355 acres of land, to Garret Neafie and John Neafie, of New York City, for £3,000." The Deys have utterly disappeared from Preakness for nearly three-quarters of a century, and the very name of this once wealthy and powerful family is scarcely remembered in the region they once controlled. A son of Richard, Anthony Dey, was one of the founders of Jersey City, and for many

years wielded great influence there." Others of the family removed early in the present century to Onondaga county, N. Y. Their once proud estate at Singack has passed through many hands during the last seventy years, and now the homestead, sadly shorn of its princely area, is owned by Dr. John M. Howe, of Passaic, N. J., but is only occupied by his farmer, more than half the house being vacant.

WILLIAM NELSON

¹ MS. Journal of William S. Pennington, Lieutenant Company A, Second Artillery. Lieutenant Pennington was Governor of New Jersey, 1813-15....² So the writer is informed by Samuel A. Van Saun, Esq., of Paterson, grandson of Samuel Van Saun....³ Adjutant Whiting's Revolutionary Orders, 117-141....⁴ Ibid, 117....⁵ Thatcher's Military Journal, 207....⁶ "Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782," by the Marquis de Chasteilux, Vol. I., 103....⁷ Local traditions. *De Gaffel* is the Dutch for "The Fork." The ancient Pompton road forks here....⁸ Adjutant Whiting, 117....⁹ Wagraw, Totowa, Preakness and Singack are Indian names of localities. Totowa extended on the northwest to Singack, frequently called by the inhabitants "The Singack," and Preakness adjoins Singack on the northeast. The limits of the various neighborhoods thus designated by the Indians are of course vague, and this accounts for the indifferent locating of Washington's headquarters at this time at "Totowa," "Preakness," "near the Passaic Falls," and "Singack."....¹⁰ Adjutant Whiting, 117....¹¹ Ibid, 122....¹² Ibid, 120....¹³ Chastellux, I., 119....¹⁴ Ibid, 116....¹⁵ In Dutch *dij* is the equivalent of *thigh*. Is this the origin of the name?...¹⁶ Valentine's History of New York, 280; N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record, April, 1876, p. 58, where additional particulars of the first four generations of Deys may be found....¹⁷ Bergen County (N. J.) Deeds....¹⁸ A *lapsus penne* for Pachquannick, as the name is elsewhere written in the same deed....¹⁹ Adjutant-General Stryker's "Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War," 339, 351, 364....²⁰ Moore's Diary of the Revolution, II., 297....²¹ Bergen County Deeds....²² Winfield's Hudson County, 286.

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

NINETEEN
NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME
PUBLISHED
1780-1781

LXXI

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel
Head Quarters Morristown,
14th Feby, 1780

Sir

I have considered your favor of this date with its inclosure.

There does not appear to me any reason upon which the soldiers are entitled to, or can claim the Continental fire arms, at the expiration of their time of service. The act of Assembly is very plain. As an encouragement for men to bring their own arms into the army, it offers a certain bounty, and to such as do not, a lesser sum. The difference which is given to the former appears to have been designed as a compensation for the use of the arms, nor can any construction whatsoever authorize the latter to carry off arms &c the property of the Continent.

I am sir Your obt

& very hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Col Jackson

LXXII

Communicated by Ella Bassett Washington
Morristown May 5th 1780

Dear Sir

Your Letters of the 26th of March & fourth of last month came safe to hand—

With respect to the Lotts I purchased at Mercer's sale, as I have no Deeds for

them, nor in short know not upon what footing the matter stands, I do not incline to give any assurance of parting with the whole, or part of them at this time— What may happen hereafter I am unable to say—circumstances must govern—

By a letter of the 5th of Decr last from Colo Fairfax, I am informed that he had in consequence of my earnest request to him to appt another attorney, and the information he had recd that his Estate in Virginia was either confiscated or about to be so, sent a power to Robt Carter Nicholas Esqr to take charge of his affairs and as I had also wrote to Mr Nicholas on this subject I will await his answer before I do anything respecting Colo Fairfax's business.—if his information or apprehensions are well founded I should think it a cruel proceeding as the uniform tenor of his conduct has been friendly to the rights of this Country—his going to England the result of necessity and before hostilities either commenced or were thought of, and his return with his family in a manner impracticable

Bergen County Jersey 6th July 1780

I had wrote thus far when some thing intervening, I was obliged to postpone my letter— a succession of business, of one kind and another occasioned my laying it aside 'till I had altogether forgot I had begun a letter to you—and the constant moving state of the army since the 7th of last month has kept me from my Papers, & from the discovery of my havg begun a letter to you till now.— Thus much by way of apology—if the reason is admissible.

The Gazettes will have given you an



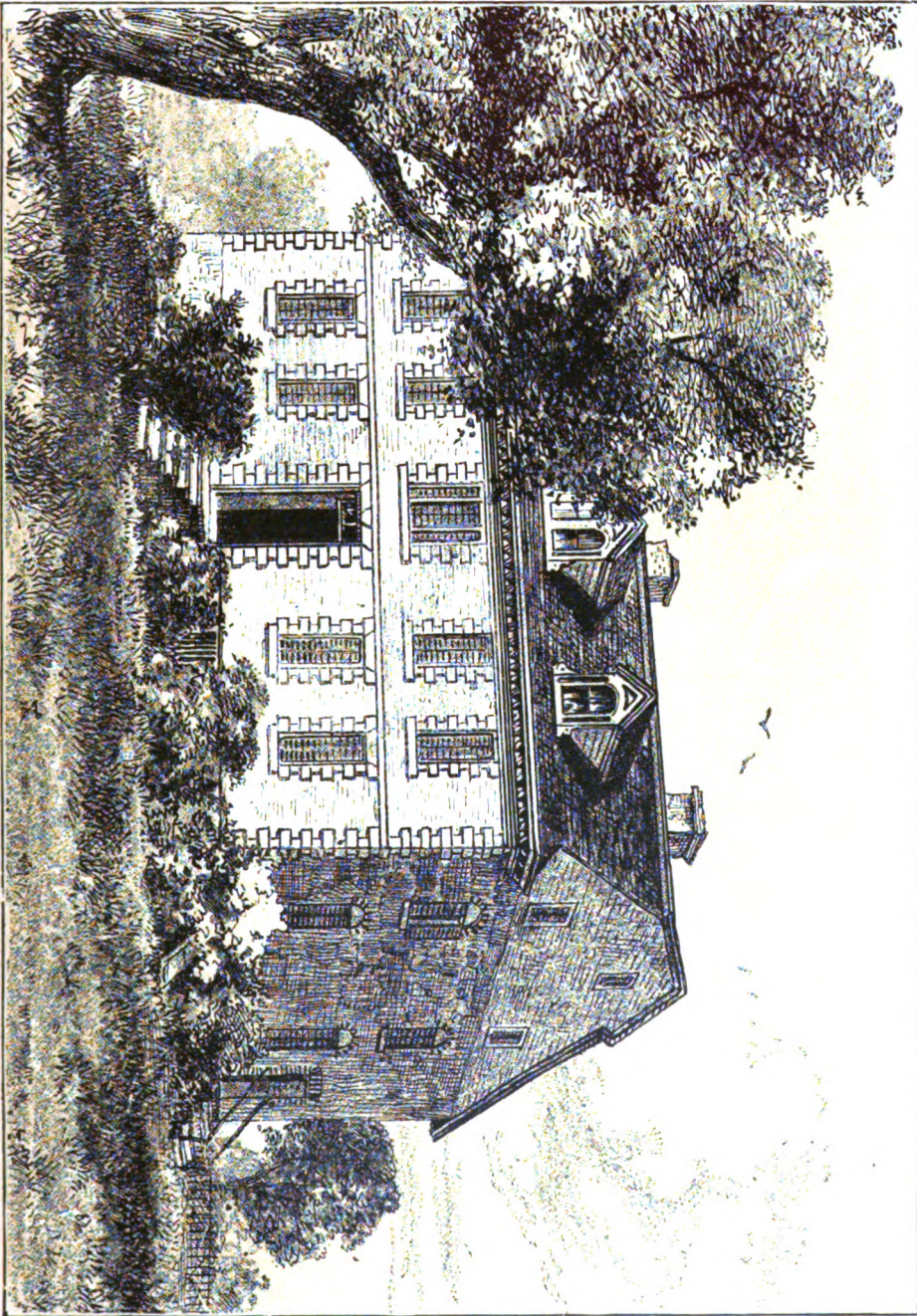
DOCUMENTS

then, nor in short know not upon what footing the matter stands. I do not intend to give over a number of parting with the whole, or part of them at this time— What may happen hereafter I am unable to say—Circumstances must govern.

By a letter of the 15th of Decr from Colo. John Fairfax, I am informed that he had in consequence of my earliest request, to him to appoint another attorney, and the information he had recd that his Estate in Virginia was rather confidential or about to be so, sent a power to Robert Carter Nicholas Esqr to take charge of his affairs and as I had also wrote to Mr Nicholas on this subject I will wait his answer before I do anything respecting Colo. Fairfax's business—if his information or apprehensions are well founded I should think it a prudent proceeding as the uniform tenor of his conduct has been friendly to the rights of this County—his going to England therefore on necessity and being absent for some other considerable or extended time, and his return with his family in a manner impracticable.

Bojoe County Jersey 6th July 1783
I had wrote this far when some thing intervened— I was obliged to post my letter— a succession of business, of one kind and another occasioned my having it to do till I had almost forgot I had begun a letter to you—and the constant moving state of the army since the 7th of last month has kept me from my Papers, & from the discovery of my having begun a letter to you till now— This much by way of apology—the reason is admissible.

The Gazettes will have given you an



THE DEW HOUSE, PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

acct of the enemy's movements on the 7th & 23d of last month from Elizabeth-town-point, & of their having taken Post there from the one date to the other; there can be no occasion therefore to detail the acct in this place; but I may lament in the bitterness of my soul, that the fatal policy which has pervaded all our measures from the beginning of the war, & which no experience however dear bought can change, should have reduced our army to so low an ebb, as not to have given a more effectual opposition to those movements than we did; or that we should be obliged to be removing our stores from place to place to keep them out of the way of the enemy instead of driving that enemy from our Country—but our weakness invited these insults, & why they did not *attempt at least* to do more than they did, I cannot conceive. Nor will it be easy to make any one at the distance of 400 miles believe that our army, weakened as it is by the expiration of Men's enlistments, should at times be five or six days together without meat—then as many without bread—and once or twice, two or three days together without either—and that, in the same army, there should be numbers of men with scarcely as much cloathing as would cover their nakedness and at least a fourth of the whole with not even the shadow of a blanket severe as the winter has been.— Under these circumstances it is no difficult matter to conceive what a time I must have had to keep up appearances & prevent the most disastrous consequences.—

It may be asked how these things have come to pass? the answer is plain

—& may be ascribed to the want of system, not to say foresight—originally (if it is not still the case with some) to a fatal jealousy (under our circumstances) of a standing army—by which means we neglected to obtain Soldiers for the war when zeal & patriotism run high, & men were eager to engage for a trifle or for nothing; the consequence of which has been that we have protracted the war—expended millions & tens of millions of pounds which might have been saved, & have a new army to raise & discipline once or twice a year & with which we can undertake nothing because we have nothing to build upon, as the men are slipping from us every day by means of their expiring enlistments— To these fundamental errors, may be added another which I expect will prove our ruin, & that is the relinquishment of Congressional powers, to the states individually—all the business is now *attempted*, for it is not done, by a timid kind of recommendation from Congress to the States; the consequence of which is, that instead of pursuing one uniform system which in the execution shall correspond in time & manner, each state undertakes to determine—

1st Whether they will comply or not

2nd In what manner they will do it &

3d in what time—by which means scarcely any one measure is, or can be executed, while great expences are incurred & the willing & zealous states ruined. In a word our measures are not under the influence and direction of one Council, but thirteen, each of which is actuated by local views and politics, without considering the fatal conse-

quences of not complying with plans which the united wisdom of America in its representative capacity have digested, or the unhappy tendency of delay, mutilation or alteration— I do not scruple to add & I give it decisively as my opinion—that unless the states will content themselves with a full & well chosen representation in Congress & vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of War, and of general concern (by which the States unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local & internal polity for the regulation of order & good government) we are attempting an impossibility, & very soon shall become (if it is not already the case) a many headed monster—a heterogenous mass—that never will or can steer to the same point— The contest among the different states *now* is not which shall do most for the common cause—but which shall do least, hence arise disappointments & delay, one state waiting to see what another will or will not do through fear,—of doing too much & by their deliberations, alterations, & sometimes refusals to comply with the requisitions of Congress, after that Congress spent months in reconciling (as far as it is possible) jarring interests in order to frame their resolutions as far as the nature of the case will admit, upon principles of equality—

There is another source from whence much of our present distress, & past difficulties have flowed; and that is the hope & expectation which seizes the States, & Congress toward the close of every year, that Peace must take place in the winter— This never fails to pro-

duce an apathy which lulls them into ease and security, & involves the most distressing consequences at the opening of every Campaign.— We may rely upon it, that we shall never have Peace till the enemy are convinced that we are in a condition to carry on the war.— It is no new maxim in politics that for a nation to obtain Peace, or insure it, It must be prepared for war.—

But it is time for me to recollect myself, & quit a subject which would require a folio volume to illucidate, & expose the folly of our measures— To rectify past blunders is impossible, but we might profit by the experience of them, tho' even here I doubt, as I am furnished with many instances to the contrary.

After the enemy had manœuvered in the Jerseys—not much I think to their advantage or credit, they as you may have seen by the acct published, suddenly left the State and by their movements, seemed to threaten our Posts on the North river— this, as we were apprehensive of them before, induced us to make such advances that way as gave us a moral certainty of covering and securing them— whether the enemy's plans were changed hereby, or whether their only views were to occupy certain grounds which they conceived would hereafter be of use to us, in order to drain it of its forage, I shall not undertake to say, but the fact is that after being on board their Vessels two or three days in the No River they disembarked about four miles above Kingsbridge & Incamped across from thence over to the East river or Sound where they have lain ever since foraging. finding

this to be the case, & knowing it was not in my power to dislodge them, I came to this place to refresh my Troops—wait the expected reinforcements by Drafts—& the arrival of the french fleet,—thus the matter stands at present, what events may cast up hereafter the womb of time must discover.

Letters of this length will be the best apology I can make for the infrequency of them, for were they not rare, they would be insufferable—My best affections attend my Sister and the Family—With sentiments of the most perfect regard, I am most

Sincerely Yrs

GO. WASHINGTON

Field-g Lewis Esq

Fredericksburg—

P. S. You will be so good as to let the Inclosed Letters be properly forwarded

G. W.

LXXIII

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Head Qrs Morris Town

June 3 1780

Dr Sir

Under our present expectations of the daily arrival of the Fleet and Army from France at Rhode Island—and of operations that may be consequent—it is of great importance that the means of conveying intelligence between Providence & Head Qrs should be placed on the most certain & expeditious footing— I therefore request that you will, without the least delay, have a proper number of trusty diligent Expresses established on the communication between those two places at suitable stations You will from what was done in a like manner on

a former occasion readily know the [best] route and the stages— The same [circumstances] make it necessary that we should be [ready at] the best & earliest state we can to move the Army as circumstances may require; I therefore wish you to have all the Horses belonging to it, which are or will be probably fit for service in a short time, collected in pastures within the vicinity of Camp as soon as it can be done. We may have immediate occasion for them, and if by any means this should not be the case, they may be recruiting here from the state of the Grass as well as at any other place.

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obedt &c

G. WASHINGTON

Major Genl Greene Q. M. Genl.

LXXIV

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

June 7, [17]80

My Lord—

The enemy landed at DeHarts Point last night in considerable force—and are advancing rapidly this way.

They may aim at our Camp or they may only intend to proceed as far as the mountains and file off to the left making a sweep of all the forage Cattle &c. in their way.

In any case we ought to collect the Militia to give them all the opposition in our power. I request your Lordship to give the alarm as extensively as you can in your quarter and to remain to form them as they collect and march them towards the enemy with direction to skirmish on their left flank— We shall as quick as possible move forward with the Army.

I wish your Lordship's particular attention to the Militia—

I am yr Lordships

Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Major Genl Lord Stirling

The enemy were on the road from E Town to Springfield— We shall move towards Chatham.

LXXV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters, 20th July 1780

An idea has occurred to me my dear Madam, which if *perfectly* consistent with the views of the female patriots may perhaps extend the utility of their subscriptions.— It is to deposit the amount in the Bank & receive Bank notes in lieu of it to purchase the articles intended.

This while serviceable to the Bank and advancing its operations seems to have no inconvenience to the intentions of the Ladies.— By uniting the efforts of patriotism they will reciprocally promote each other—and I should imagine the Ladies will have no objection to a union with the Gentlemen.

But I beg Madam the suggestion I have taken the liberty to make may not have the least attention paid to it, if the sentiments of all the fair associates do not perfectly coincide.

I have the honor to be with

perfect respect & esteem Madam

Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Mrs Presidt Reed

LXXVI

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Peeks Kill August 1st 1780

Sir

I beg leave to inform your Excellency,

that the exigency of the service makes it necessary for me to call the German Battalion from Sunbury to join this army, & that I must embrace the earliest opportunity to transmit an order for the purpose. I have thought it proper to communicate this to your Excellency, that you may if you deem it essential, supply its place by incorporating & ordering a number of your militia to act in that quarter. Had the requisition of the Honorable the Committee of Congress to the State for men to fill her battalions, been even nearly complied with, and which I thought as they did, the Public interest required, I should have foregone the advantages which would have been derived from the service of this Corps and continued it at its present station, but this not having been the case, I am compelled to avail myself of its aid

I have the the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obet Hble Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr. Reed

LXXVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters

Bergen County

22nd July 1780

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 18th came to my hands last night—Considering the delicate situation in which I stand with respect to General Gates, I feel an unwillingness to give any opinion (even in a confidential way) in a matter in which he is concerned lest my sentiments (being known) should have unfavourable in-

terpretation ascribed to them by illiberal minds—I will however state facts, and leave you to draw inferences, with respect to the promotion required.

Custom (for I do not recollect any resolve of Congress authorizing it) has established a kind of right to the promotion of Brigadiers in State lines, when there are Regiments, enough to require a Brigadier to command—There can be no objection therefore to the Gentn named, on this ground.

By the practice of our Army, never less than four Regiments are placed in a brigade, but in cases of necessity.—The quota of Regiments allotted to the State of Virginia originally were 15—In the year 1778 there was an incorporation of some of them by the Committee of arrangement (sent to the White Plains); & approved, to the best of my recollection by Congress—this reduced them to —; one of which is now at Fort Pitt. The State of Virginia at this time (Since the recall of Weedon) has 4 Brigrs in pay, & two in active service—Those in captivity will be injured if they should not return to actual command when they are exchanged; & they can have no command out of their own line—nor can there be any in it if new Bs. are made. The State was about to raise 5,000 men, 4,000 of which is, more than probably as many as they will get—& were I to form my judgment from our usual disappointments & the customary deficiency in these cases, I should not expect 3,000 men.—

At the request of Govr. Jefferson & from a list of the officers of the Virga line (not in captivity) I have made a

temporary formation of these Troops into Six (or as the case may be) Seven Regiments, till they are surcharged—there being officers enough in the State for this purpose—

The case of S—ns is not singular it frequently happens—& in the nature of things must happen while we depend upon Militia and the appointment of officers of his rank are in the Executive of each State—I have no doubt but that several instances of this kind will occur under my immediate command in the course of the Campaign (if our intended operation goes forward) It is unavoidable, while we depend upon Militia for field Service.

The Gentn who is the subject of your Letter is a brave officer, & a well meaning man, but his withdrawing from Service at the time he did last year, could not be justified on any ground—there was not, to my knowledge, the smallest cause for dissatisfaction—and the season and circumstances were totally opposed to the measure, even if cause had existed, till matters assume a different aspect than they wore at the time of his proffered resignation.

From this state of facts, which I believe to be candid and impartial you will judge of the propriety, or impropriety of the promotion in question & act accordingly—

If any letter of mine to Colo. Harrison (Speaker to the Virginia House of Delegates) could have a tendency to injure rather than promote the service in which we are engaged, the operation of it & my intention, are as far apart as the North pole is from the South.—In May, after the Marquis' arrival with

assurances of speedy succour from France, I wrote to Col. Harrison (which I had not done for many months before) & informed him knowing the assembly was then sitting—of the totally deranged situation of our affairs—of our distresses—of the utter impracticability of availing ourselves of the generous aid unless the States would rouse from the Torper that had seized them—and observed—that

“This is a decisive moment—one (I will go further and say) *the* most important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we after that venture to confide that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what it will appear we want inclination, or ability to assist them in

“Every view of our own circumstances ought to determine us to the most vigorous efforts; but there are considerations of an other kind that should have equal weight—The combined fleets of France and Spain last year were greatly superior to those of the enemy—The enemy nevertheless sustained no material damage, and at the close of the Campaign have given a very important blow to our allies—This Campaign the difference between the fleets from every acct I have been able to collect will be inconsiderable—indeed it is far from clear that there will not be an equality—what are we to expect will be the case if there shd be another Campaign?—In all probability the advantage will be on the side

“of the English, and then what will become of America?—We ought not to deceive ourselves—The maritime resources of Great Britain are more substantial & real than those of France and Spain united—The commerce is more extensive than that of both her rivals; and it is an axiom that the Nation which has the most extensive commerce will always have the most powerful Marine. Were these arguments less convincing the fact speaks for itself—her progress in the course of the last year is an incontestible proof—It is true France in a manner created a fleet in a very short space, and this may mislead us in the judgement we form of her naval abilities. But if they be any comparison with those of G. Britain, how comes it to pass that all the force of Spain added she has lost so much ground in so short a time, as now to have scarcely a superiority.—We should consider what was done by France as a violent and unnatural effort of the Government, which for want of sufficient foundation cannot continue to operate proportionable effects.

“In Modern wars the longest purse must chiefly determine the event;—I fear that of the enemy will be found to be so—Though the government is deeply in debt, and of course poor, the Nation is rich & their riches afford a fund which will not be easily exhausted.—Besides their system of public credit is such, that it is capable of greater exertions than that of any other nation.—Speculatists have been a long time foretelling its downfall, but we

" see no symptoms of the catastrophe
 " being very near—I am persuaded it
 " will at least last out the War, & then
 " in the opinion of many of the best
 " politicians it will be a National ad-
 " vantage—If the War should terminate
 " successfully the Crown will have ac-
 " quired such influence and power that
 " it may attempt anything and a bank-
 " ruptcy will probably be made the
 " ladder to climb to absolute authority
 " —Administration may perhaps wish
 " to drive matters to this issue—At any
 " rate they will not be sustained by an
 " apprehension of it from forcing the
 " resources of the State It will pro-
 " mote their present purposes on which
 " their all is at stake, & it may pave the
 " way to triumph more effectually over
 " the Constitution—With this disposi-
 " tion, I have no doubt that ample
 " means will be found to prosecute the
 " War with the greatest vigor "

" France is in a very different posi-
 " tion, the abilities of her present finan-
 " cier has done wonders—By a wise
 " administration of the revenues aided
 " by advantageous loans he has avoided
 " all the necessity of additional taxes—
 " But I am well informed—if the War
 " continues another Campaign he will
 " be obliged to have recourse to the
 " Taxes usual in time of War, which
 " are very heavy—and which the people
 " in France are not in a condition to
 " endure for any duration—When this
 " necessity commences, France makes
 " war on ruinous terms ; and England
 " from her individual wealth will find
 " much greater facilities in supplying
 " her exigencies "

" Spain derives great wealth from her

" mines but not so great as is generally
 " imagined, of late years the profit to
 " Governmt is essentially diminished—
 " Commerce and industry are the best
 " Mines of a Nation ; both which are
 " wanting to her—I am told her treas-
 " ury is far from being so well filled as
 " we have flattered ourselves She also
 " is much divided on the propriety of
 " the War—there is a strong party
 " against it. The temper of the nation
 " is too sluggish to admit of great exer-
 " tion—& though the Courts of the two
 " Kingdoms are closely linked together;
 " there never has been in any of their
 " wars a perfect harmony of measures
 " nor has it been in this ; which has
 " already been no small detriment to
 " the common cause

" I mention these things to shew that
 " the circumstances of our allies as well
 " as our own, call for Peace ; to obtain
 " which we must make one great effort
 " this Campaign. The present instance
 " of the friendship of the Court of
 " France is attended with every circum-
 " stance that can render it important
 " and agreeable that can interest our
 " gratitude, or fire our emulation—If we
 " do our duty we may even hope to
 " make the Campaign decisive on this
 " Continent. But we *must do our duty*
 " *in Earnest*—or disgrace and ruin will
 " attend us—I am sincere in declaring a
 " full persuasion that the succour will
 " be fatal to us if our measures are not
 " adequate to the emergency "

" The Committee of Congress in their
 " late Address to the several States,
 " have given a just picture of our Situ-
 " ation—I very much doubt its making
 " the desired impression, & if it does

"not, I shall consider our lethargy as incurable—The present juncture is so interesting, that if it does not produce correspondent exertions, it will be a proof, that motives of honor, public good & even self preservation, have lost their influence on our minds"

If there is anything in the foregoing quotation of my Letter to Col Harrison that could prejudice the Service, I must abide the consequences, for I certainly wrote what is recited—not officially as you will readily perceive, but in a private letter to a friend, whose influence together with that of every well wisher of the cause, I wanted to engage, as I thought it high time that every Engine should be at work.—The whole of what I wrote on the points you mention, are faithfully transcribed, that you may judge how far it could prejudice the Service—with the greatest esteem & regard

I am Dear Sir Yr Afft Humble Servt
G. WASHINGTON

Joseph Jones Esq.

P. S. The latter clause of the quotation of my Letter to Col Harrison I am not *absolutely* certain was sent—The original draught contained it, but I am in some doubt whether it was copied, or not—This I mention that there may be no possible mis-information on my part.

LXXXVIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Qrs. Orange Town,

Aug 10th 1780

Madam.

I have the honor to thank you for your favor of the 31st Ult.

It was not my intention to divert the benevolent donation of the Ladies from the channel they wished it to flow in.— I gave my opinion in consequence of their request, but I shall be equally ready to subscribe to theirs—and will execute their commands in the manner most agreeable to themselves.— At the same time, I have my apprehensions (from the peculiar circumstances of our Army) that a taste of hard money may be productive of much discontent, as we have none but depreciated paper for their pay.

A few provident Soldiers will, probably, avail themselves of the advantages which may result from the generous bounty of two hard dollars in specie—but it is equally probable that it will be the means of bringing punishment on a number of others, whose propensity to drinking, overcoming all other considerations, too frequently leads them into irregularities, & disorders which must be corrected.—

A Shirt would render the condition of the Soldiery in general much more comfortable than it is at present, & no prospect of public supplies (in any degree adequate to our wants) are yet opened to my view— The provisions made, or making for the Troops of Pennsylvania, and the late importation from France, is small in comparison of our aggregate call, and affords a melancholy prospect of continued sufferings;—

I have the honor to be Madam,

With the most perfect respect,

Yr most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Mrs Presidt Reed, Phila.

LXXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters Orange Town

20th Aug 1780

Dear Sir

I had this morning the honor of yours of the 17th from Trenton. When I ordered the Militia of Pennsylvania to assemble at their place of rendezvous, I was in hopes that our supply of provisions would have been adequate to their subsistence with the Army: But, from repeated and a late pointed representation from the Commy General, I find myself very unfortunately disappointed. I can, with every exertion, scarcely keep the Army in this Camp (intirely Continental) fed from day to day. In this situation, it will be only adding to our distress to bring forward the Men under your Excellency's command—to halt them any where between this and Delaware would be in fact the same thing, and altho' ordering them back to their Counties may be attended with some inconveniences and delays hereafter, yet necessity constrains me to do it in some measure. I would wish you immediately to send orders to those of the remoter Counties, who have not yet joined you, to return for the present, but to hold themselves in readiness to move again upon the shortest notice. Should you be of opinion that those of Philada and the neighbouring Counties, who are already embodied and under your command, could take a position in the County of Bucks, where they could be subsisted without interfering with the supplies coming on for the Army, I should prefer it to disbanding them; for to be candid, I fear so much time will be lost

in getting them out again after the second division of the French Troops and Ships (hourly expected) arrive, that the Season for action will have glided away, and that we shall on that account be unable to prosecute the intended operation. But should your Excellency be of opinion that they may return home, and be collected again in the course of a few days when wanted—I shall have no objection. The Delaware Militia being but a handful of Men, and those armed and accoutred by the public, I have thought it better to order them forward than, by countermanding them, run the risque of losing the public Stores which they have drawn. I am infinitely obliged to you for providing your people with Camp Equipage, as it would not have been in my power to have furnished them with a sufficient quantity, if with any at all.

It is a most mortifying reflexion, that we should not, at this advanced period of the Campaign have Magazines of Provisions for even one half the Men necessary for our intended operations. I can only hope that this is owing to the new Crop not having yet come into use, and that by the time of the arrival of the 2d division, upon which the commencement of our operations will depend, we shall be in a situation to draw a head of Men together. I have every assurance from the French land and Sea Commanders that the second Division may, without some very unexpected accident, be daily expected. Should we, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, be found, after all our promises of a co-operating force, deficient in Men—provision and every other essential—your

Excellency can easily conceive what will be the opinion of our Allies, and of the World, and what will be the consequences in the deranged — distracted State of our Affairs. And that we shall be found in this situation, unless the most vigorous exertions are made by the several States to send in those supplies which are demanded of them, I am as well convinced as I am of any one thing in nature.

Let me conjure you then my dear Sir to make the people use every moment of the time which we have, [remaining] The finest prospect [is] held out to us, and if we do not embrace the opportunity which now presents itself, and which is certainly within our reach, if we will make use of the means in our power—can we expect ever to have the offer repeated?

I have the honor to be
with great Respect and Esteem
Yr Excellency's
most obt and hbl Sert
GO. WASHINGTON

[Governor Joseph Reed]

P. S. I duly recd your Excellency's favrs of the 3d and 7th.

LXXX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Qrs Sept 9th 1780

Dear Sir,

I have heard that a new arrangement is about to take place in the Medical Department & that is likely, it will be a good deal curtailed with respect to its present appointments. Who will be the persons generally employed I am not informed, nor do I wish to know;—

however I will mention to you, that I think Doctr^s Craik & Cochran from their services, abilities & experience—and their close attention, have the strictest claim to their Country's notice, & to be among the first officers in the Establishment.

There are many other deserving characters in the Medical line of the Army, but the reasons for my mentioning the above Gentlemen are, that I have the highest opinion of them—& have had it hinted to me that the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a Spirit of party out of Doors, which would not operate in their favor. I will add no more than I am

With the most perfect regd

Yr most obtd Servt

G. WASHINGTON

The Honble Joseph Jones Esqr
of Congress—at Philadelphia

LXXXI

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Head Qrs Octr 4 1780

Sir

Your favor of the 15th ulto reached my quarters during my late absence from the Army. I am exceedingly obliged by your care of the Case of Liqueurs committed to your charge by Mr. Jay, as I am for that, which you so politely added. I have only to regret that they both suffered much by the roughness of the transportation.

I am— Sir

Yr most obt & Hble Ser.

GO. WASHINGTON

William Bingham Esqr

LXXXII

From the original, gift of William A. Fitzhugh,
in the New York Historical Society Library

Head Qrs Passaic Falls,
Oct 22, 1780

Dear Sir

The Gentn who will have the honor of presenting you with this letter is Major Genl Greene, a particular friend of mine, and one who I would beg leave to recommend to your civilities— He is going to take command of the Southern Army, and calls at Annapolis to make some arrangements with the State respecting its supplies which are turned into that direction.

This Gentleman is so intimately acquainted with our situation and prospects—and can relate them with such accuracy, that I shall not trouble you with them— My best respects attend Mrs Fitzhugh and the young officer, whose final exchange is I hope not far distant ; if the Prisoners we have in this quarter will reach the date of his captivity in the exchange we are about to make— The Comy is now gone in with powers to effect this purpose.

I am Dr Sir

Yr Obt & affecte Hble,

GO. WASHINGTON

[Hon. Wm. Fitzhugh,
Maryland]

P. S. I hope the Assemblies that are now sitting, or are about to sit, will not rise till they put three things in a fair & proper train.

First, to give full & complete powers to Congress competent to all purposes of war.

Secondly, by Loans & Taxes, to put

our finances on a more respectable footing than they are at present, and

Thirdly, that they will endeavour to establish a permanent force— These things will secure our Independency beyond dispute—but to go on in our present system—Civil as well as military—is an useless and vain attempt— It is idle to suppose that raw and undisciplined Men are fit to oppose regular Troops—and if they were, our present Military System is too expensive for any fund except that of an Eastern Nabob—and in the Civil line, instead of one head and director, we have, or soon will have, thirteen, which is as much a monster in politicks as it would be in the human form— Our prest distresses and future prospects of distress, arising from these and similar causes, is great, beyond the powers of description, & without a change must end in our ruin.

I am &c,

G. W.

LXXXIII

Communicated by Pierre Van Cortlandt

Head Quarters

Preckiness 8th Novem 1780

Sir,

I have received yours of the 7th with a Report of your Proceedings with the British Commrs of prisoners at your late meeting— I have thought proper to accede to the proposal of the several exchanges offered in the Returns numbered 5, 6, 10, and shall take the speediest occasion to direct the Officer commanding at Charlotte Barracks to send down the Officers who are the objects of the propositions. You will order the

several British and German corps mentioned in the return No. 8 to be sent to New York in exchange for our privates now there. They will leave a Balance of upwards of 60 privates in our favor. I shall be ready to grant a passport for a Flag Vessel to proceed to Newport or providence to bring the prisoners from Rutland. I have it not in my power to accede to the proposed exchange of Lt Col de Buypee for Lt Governor Hamilton (return No 7); that Gentleman, with Major Hayes, has been permitted by the State of Virginia to go to New York upon parole, but they will not consent at present to his final exchange— In regard to the proposal of exchanging the Officers who will remain upon Long Island after the foregoing are carried into execution for a Division of the Convention Troops—I have only to say that I will enter into a negotiation for such an exchange provided Lt Genl Burgoyne is made an object of it, but upon no other terms. And in respect to the further proposal of a general exchange of the Convention Troops, officers and men, for the prisoners of War taken to the Southward, as far as they will apply, you must be sensible that we are no ways prepared to enter upon that business, as we have but [a very] imperfect state of the prisoners in that quarter, and more especially as we have good reason to believe that a considerable number of prisoners have lately fallen into our hands there. Another reason for my not wishing to interfere in the exchange of the Southern prisoners at present is that the Commanding Officer in that district has powers competent to that purpose, so

far as he may have prisoners of war in his hands.

I am Sir

yr most obt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Abraham Skinner Esq

C. G. P.

LXXXIV

From the original, a gift of William A. Fitzhugh,
in the New York Historical Society Library

Hd Qrs Passaic Falls,
8th Novr 1780

Dear Sir,

I have now the pleasure to congratulate you, Mrs Fitzhugh, and the Cornet on his exchange— It was compleated a few days ago, and the Commissary of Prisoners will forward the certificate or promulgation of it.

The favourable prospect, which at one stage of the campaign was held up to view, has vanished like the morning dew, leaving scarce a trace behind it, but the recollection of past distresses on the score of Provisions, the want of wch continues to threaten us.

Our acct's from the Southward are vague and uncertain, but agreeable— If it be true that a body of French and Spanish Troops have landed in South Carolina, it may aid in the total destruction of Cornwallis' Army— Another embarkation is talked of at New York— but this also is a matter suggestion—not certainty as to numbs—

It is devoutly to be wished that the late resolves of Congress for regulating the Army and completing the Regiments for the War may receive all the energetic force of the respective States. Certain

I am, that if this measure had been adopted four, or even three years ago, that we might, at this time, have been sitting under our vines and fig trees in the full enjoyment of Peace & Independence. To attain which, the delay of the measure is unfortunate, it does not make it too late, but more necessary to enter upon it vigorously at this late hour.

An army for the war, proper magazines—and sufficient powers in Congress for all purposes *of war* will soon put an end to it—but the expensive and ruinous system we were pursuing was more than the friends of any Nation upon Earth would bear, and served to increase the hopes of the enemy in proportion as the minds of our people were depressed, by a boundless prospect of expence, which was increasing as it rolled on like a snow ball.

My best respects attend Mrs Fitzhugh—& Compliments to your Son— With much esteem and affection,

I am Dr Sir

Yr most Obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble Wm Fitzhugh Esqr
Maryland

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LXXXV

From the Livingston Correspondence. Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Passaic Falls
19 Novemr 1780

Dear Sir,

I have been this day honored with your Excellency's favour of the 18th. You may be assured that I shall pursue

the same measure this winter that I have invariably done heretofore—of sending every Horse that can possibly be spared to a distance from the part of the country which has been the seat of the Army during the Campaign, and as there will be fewer troops in Jersey this winter than usual, I hope the inhabitants will find relief in proportion. The exertions of the State have been great, and it is intitled to every indulgence that the nature of the Service will allow.

Your Excellency and the Legislature must be sufficiently acquainted with the State of the Army to know that our force, after the dismissal of Levies, will admit but few troops to remain in Jersey. I shall throw all that can be spared, after securing West Point from any possible insult, on the communication from Morris Town to King's Ferry; but as their number will be but few, they cannot be cantonned nearer to the Sound than Morris Town. They will occasionally keep patroles and light parties advanced to give notice of any approach of the Enemy. I am convinced that a force within striking distance of an enemy, any thing short of a body sufficient to keep them in perfect awe, instead of affording protection to the inhabitants, only serve as an inducement to bring the enemy out upon them.

I have the honor to be with

very great Respect and Regard

Yr Excellency's most obdt

and humble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston.

LXXXVI

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood
Morristown 28th Nov. 1780

Dear Sir,

Both your letters of the 25 came to my hands this day. I received with much pleasure the report of your successful enterprize upon Fort St George and the vessel with stores in the harbor, and was particularly well pleased with the destruction of the hay which must, I should conceive, be severely felt by the enemy at this time.

I beg of you to accept my thanks for your judicious planning and spirited execution of this business, and that you will offer them to the officers and men who shared the honors of the enterprize with you. The gallant behaviour of Mr. Munison gives him a fair claim to an appointment in the second regiment of Dragoons, or any other of the state to which he belongs, where there is a vacancy, and I have no doubt of his meeting with it accordingly, if you will make known his merit, with these sentiments in his favor.

You have my free consent to reward your gallant party with the little booty they were able to bring from the Enemy's works.

With much esteem & regard,

I am Dear Sir, Yr most obed servt,

[Col Tallmadge] GO. WASHINGTON

LXXXVII

From the Livingston Correspondence. Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters

New Windsor 10 Decr 1780

Dear Sir,

Your Excellency will, I presume, have

recd before this reaches you an Act of Congress of the 4th of last month, calling on the several States for specific quantities of fresh and salt provisions—Flour—Salt and Rum for the Army, and directing all of the above articles, except the Fresh Meat, to be collected and deposited at such places in each of the States as should be judged most convenient by me. This communication I should have done myself the honour of making somewhat earlier, had not the greater part of my time since the receipt of the Act been taken up in arranging and visiting the Hospitals and Winter Cantonments of the Army.

Upon considering the point with respect to the Supplies required of your State, I beg leave to inform your Excellency that it appears to me they should be deposited at the following places, viz.

The whole of the Salt—Salt Meat and Flour, at Morris Town—Pitts Town—Sussex Court House and Ringwood, in such proportion at each as may suit the State—

The Commy General, as he is directed, will inform you, from time to time, of the quantities of live Cattle which will be necessary, and where they are to be delivered.

I have the honor to be with great Respect,

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt Servant,

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Gov Livingston

LXXXVIII

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel.

New Windsor 12th Decr 1780

Dear Sir,

I persuade myself you will embrace the opportunity of the Marquis de la Fayette's visit to Philadelphia to give the picture of him the finishing touches.—You may not have another opportunity, and I wish its completion.

I am Dr Sir Yr Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

[C. W. Peale Esqr]

P. S. As I presume you must be done with my picture of the King of Prussia 'ere this, I should be glad to have it returned to me.

LXXXIX

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

New Windsor 21st Decr 1780

Sir

This letter will be handed to you by the Chevr de Chasteleaux, Major General in the French Army and an officer of great merits, whom I recommend to your particular attention—and I request that he may be furnished with Guards for any tour he may incline to make towards Lake George or &c &c.

I am Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Gen. Clinton

Commanding at Albany &c &c.

NOTES

GENERAL SULLIVAN IN RHODE ISLAND, 1778.—The memory of General Sullivan is dear to his descendants and kins-folk. If unjustly aspersed they are naturally

distressed and aggrieved. This sensitiveness is entitled to consideration and all honorable men respect it. In the article by John Austin Stevens, entitled "The French in Rhode Island" (*Magazine of American History*, III, 390), it is charged that the first expedition of the Americans and French for the capture of the British garrison at Newport fell through because of "the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements." In the name of the descendants of General Sullivan we protest against this charge. It is equivalent to the assertion that because General Sullivan did not in less time than two weeks, between July 29 and August 9 (1778), collect his army of eight to ten thousand men (composed largely of volunteers and militia), with which on the latter day he crossed over to the island, train and organize them for the important service expected of them and get together their supplies, he was obnoxious to the charge of procrastination. In the communication,* which is transmitted herewith, this charge is refuted and we request for it in full or in part an early insertion.

JNO. SULLIVAN,
EDWARD SULLIVAN,
THOMAS C. AMORY.

Boston, June 17, 1879.

* This communication will appear in the September number. EDITOR.

SO FAR WEST.—The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York charging the Grand Jury of the City of New York in the March Term, 1726-7, said: "As to the several kinds of witchcraft, our laws, I think, are a little obscure,

and I hope we are so far West as to know nothing of it but the Name. But if, upon enquiry you find any of the People of this country have been dealing with the devil in that uncommon way, I believe you will not fail to present them."

There is a sly thrust at the superstition of New England, and at the same time, a concession to public opinion visible in the foregoing words.

R. L. F.

INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES—CHILLAKOTHE.—As the name of Chillakothé has been applied to different places in the course of this letter, it may not be improper to remark here, that it is derived from the name of an influential chief, who formerly headed the Shawanoes. Whenever his people happened to be driven from their town, they retired to some other spot, and founded a second by the same name, and so a third, a fourth, &c. In like manner the Miami, and some other Indians, have communicated the respective names of their nations, or tribes, to various rivers and places, as they severally happened to remove, or spread themselves over the country. The savages know well how to choose a situation for a town. The scite and surrounding country of every Chillakothé is very beautiful. — *Gen. Harmar's Report of an Expedition against the Indians, dated Nov. 23, 1790.*

W. K.

JOHN JAY AT A BULL-FIGHT, 1780.—Mr Jay and myself went yesterday to a Bull-fight which is the only diversion

this town affords—and a cruel one it is—I will not shock you with a description of it— Except the Gladiators I never read of anything more inhuman— In the morning one of the Knights who fought on horseback was killed & two wounded— This was some thing very uncommon, as the men seldom get much hurt. But the horses which are torn to pieces by the Bull & the serious tormenting death of the Bulls themselves is a most shocking part of the Entertainment— What surprised me most was the pleasure the Spanish Ladies received from the death of the poor animals— Indeed unless a great many horses are killed they call it a very poor feast. The activity and strength shown by the fighters is really surprising—the danger they put themselves into is still more so. I have seen a man, tossed over a fence 5 or 6 feet in height on the Bull's horns, return to the fight again in an instant as if nothing had happened to him.

Besides these Bull-fights they have a comedy every evening. But as I do not know enough of the language to understand the actors I have not derived much pleasure from any I have yet seen. The Devil has a great Part in their Comedies. I have been in one shop where there were more than 3000 comedies of different kinds to be Sold & I have been told by an Abby here that above 500 of these are now in actual vogue and presented on the two theatres in this city.—*Extract from a letter of John Brockholst Livingston to Gov. Livingston, dated Madrid, 12 July, 1780.*

IULUS.

SIMON GIRTY AND THE ATTACK ON FORT HENRY, 1777.—J. E. Cook, in his *Stories of the Old Dominion*, repeats the old story that Simon Girty led the Indians in their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. Where and when this story originated I have never been able to ascertain. Withers, in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, published in 1831, asserts it, and De Hass, in his *History of Indian Wars in Western Virginia*, repeats it. McKnight, in *Our Western Border*, contradicts the story, but says: "it must have been George or James Girty who were living among the savages." Now the fact is not one of the Girtys was with the Indians at the time of their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. There is no historical fact better established than the dates of the desertion of Simon, James and George Girty. Thomas Girty never did desert. Col. George Morgan was Indian Agent for the middle department of the United States during the Revolution, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt, and his Journal proves that Simon and James Girty were employed by him as Indian Interpreters; it also shows that on the 28th of March, 1778, Simon Girty deserted with McKee and Elliott, and that at that time James was on a message to the Shawanese for Colonel Morgan, and was induced to desert the cause of his country and attach himself to the interest of his brother Simon. See *Hildreth's Pioneer History*, pp. 129-30. The muster roll of Capt. James Willing's company of marines, at the time under Gen. George Rodgers Clark, now in the State Archives at Harrisburg, shows that George Girty was com-

missioned a Second Lieutenant in said company on the 6th of February, 1778, and that he deserted May 4th, 1779. See *Potter's American Monthly*, VII, 388. There is other evidence, but this is sufficient to prove that none of the Girtys could have led the attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, Pa.

BROWNSVILLE, PENN., EPITAPHS.—At Brownsville, Fayette Co., Penn., two tombstones mark the spot where lie the bodies of two nephews of General Washington. They were passing through Brownsville, taking a gang of slaves from the eastern part of Virginia to the West, and while there were poisoned by some of the slaves, dying a few days afterwards at different times. The inscriptions on the stones are as follows:

In memory of

JOHN H. WASHINGTON,

A NATIVE OF VIRGINIA;

was born in the county of Southampton the 8th of June A. D. 1789; departed this life 13th of April 1818.

In memory of

ARCHIBALD WASHINGTON;

was born in the county of Southampton the 25th of February. A. D. 1785, and departed this life the 10th of April 1818.

In the same ground is a stone bearing the following inscription:

HERE LIES THE BODY OF THOMAS BROWN WHO ONCE WAS OWNER OF THIS TOWN WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE MARCH 8TH 1797
AGED 59 years.

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

QUERIES

THREE OLD ALMANACS—ARE THEY RARE?—

(I) STAFFORD'S | ALMANAC, | For the Year of our LORD | 1778. * * * By *Hosea Stafford*. * * * NEW HAVEN, | Printed by Thomas and Samuel Green.

(II) THE | UNITED STATES | ALMANACK. | FOR | The Year of our LORD | 1782; | * * * BY ANDREW ELLICOTT, Esq. | CHATHAM: | PRINTED AND SOLD BY SHEPARD KOLLOCK.

(III) HUTCHINS IMPROVED: | BEING AN | ALMANACK | AND | EPHEMERIS | OF THE MOTIONS OF THE | SUN AND MOON: | * * * FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD | 1784: | * * * BY *John Guthrie Hutchins*. PHILOM. | NEW YORK: | PRINTED AND SOLD BY H. GAINE, AT HIS | *Printing Office*, IN *Hanover-Square*. | Where may be had the NEW YORK POCKET ALMANACK.

C. W. B.

PORTRAIT OF VESPUCCI.—A portrait in oil of Vespucci was brought to this country by C. Edwards Lester, committed to his care by the Vespucci family. (Field book of the Revolution, Vol. I., p. xxviii., Introduction.)

What has become of it? A. H.

VALENTINE AND MOLL DERRY.—A writer of a local sketch in the Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa., *Standard* says: "Valentine Derry, commonly called Felty, and Mollie, his wife, came to this country at the time of the Revolutionary war. They were both Haytiens, and both belonged to the British army. Derry, with his wife, deserted and joined the American side, and were under General Morgan." They afterwards "found their way over the mountains, and settled in Georges township, Fayette county, Pa."

Can any of your readers confirm this statement? In the 10th Company of Morgan's Riflemen, commanded by Samuel Brooks, as it stood Nov. 30, 1778, I find the name of John Derry. Could this be a name assumed by Moll Derry to hide her sex. I C.

Alleghany, Pa.

SCHUYLERS OF NEW JERSEY.—In the battle of Brandywine, September, 1777, a British officer was wounded, and had his leg amputated. He was committed to the care of a family by the name of *Schuyler* by whom he was cared for six months. Can any of your correspondents give me information as to this family, or their descendants?

G. W. S.

TILLEY GENEALOGY.—Can any of your readers inform me of the dates of arrival in this country (Boston) of three brothers, William, John and James Tilley. They came from Edford, Devon, England. They worked in Boston at rope making, for their cousin William. He died, December, 1717. They came about 1700. After the death of their cousin the three brothers left Boston; William settled in Newport, R. I., John in New York State, and James in New London, Conn. Any information respecting them will gladly be received by

R. H. TILLEY.

Newport, R. I.

ROBBINS' REGICIDES.—Can any of your readers tell me in what Magazine and when was published "Chandler Robbins' Regicides sheltered in New England."

R. P. ROBINS.

Philadelphia.

SMITH'S CLOVE.—In the accounts of the Revolution I find constant references to "the Clove" and to "Smith's Clove." In the Itinerary of Washington, recently published in the Magazine, it appears that his quarters were there when on the march, July, 1777. Where were these cloves and what is the derivation of the word Clove, which I take to be a ravine in the hills or a valley?

TOPOGRAPHER.

WAYNE'S BURIAL PLACE.—The Pittsburgh Gazette of December 24, 1796, contains the following:

"DIED on Wednesday night, the 14th inst, at Presqu' isle, his Excellency ANTHONY WAYNE, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

—The birth of some great man, or death,
Gives a celebrity to spots of earth;
We say that MONTCALM fell on Abram's Plain;
That BUTLER presses the Miami bank;
And that the promontory of Segean
Has Achilles's tomb—
Presqu' isle saw WAYNE expire; and
The traveller shall see his monument;
At least his grave. For this,
Corroding jealousy will not detract;
But will allow a mound—
Some little swelling of the earth,
To mark the interment of his bones.
Brave honest soldier sleep—
And let the dews weep over thee,
And gales that sigh across the Lake;
Till men shall recognize thy worth,
And coming to the place, shall ask,
Is this where WAYNE is buried?

Alleghany, Pa.

OUGH SARAGOSS.—This is said to be the name under which a tract of land on the Ohio river was entered. Is it an

Indian word, and if so, what does it signify? James P. Fleming says: "its orthography may be a corruption of 'O. Cæsar Augustus.' The Spanish city Saragossa was formerly called Cæsaragusta, which was modified to Saragossa. If we add to this the Indian exclamation 'Ough,' we have 'Ough-saragoss.' If this is the correct orthography of the name it might give us a suggestion in regard to the origin of the race."

I. C.

Alleghany Pa.

THE FIRST FRENCH ADVENTURERS IN 1776.—"The greater number of the first French who came to America when the revolution broke out were men crippled with debts and without reputation at home, who announcing themselves by assumed titles and false names obtained distinguished rank in the American army, received considerable advances in money and disappeared at once." This is the statement of the Abbé Robin in his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*. How far is it true?

HISTORY.

CROGHAN'S JOURNAL OF 1765.—Does any reader of the Magazine know who has Col. George Croghan's Journal of 1765, originally published in Featherstonhaugh's Monthly Journal of Natural Science and Geology for December, 1831? There is reason to believe that the printer in setting it up, or the copyist, made a slight but important mistake. If the original journal is still in existence it would settle an historical question of some interest.

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

MELLONS.—Will some of the many readers of the Historical Magazine please give the origin of the naming the following towns and post offices? Mellon Springs, Clay Co., Kansas; Mel-
lington, Kendall Co., Ill.; Millon, S. Carolina; Mellonsville, Lawrence Co., Va.; Mellons P. O., Louisa Co., Va., Melon P. O., Barbour Co., W. Va.; Millin P. O., Burke Co., Ga.

GEO. MELLON.

CRACKERS.—In a letter of Alexander Brymer, of Boston, to Mr. Ch. Champ-
lain, of New York, concerning the supply of the British fleet on the American Station, 10 February, 1775, the word "*crackers* for the use of the officers" appears. This word, common here, is not in use in England. What is its origin?

J. E. M.

Newport, R. I.

PARENTAGE OF JOHN ADAMS OF THE CONNECTICUT LINE. — The following copy of the discharge of one John Adams appears recorded on p. 10, Vol. I., of the town records of Arlington, Ct.

"Connecticut Village Highlands
26th April 1782

John Adams a soldier who deserted from the late 8th Connect. Regiment about three years from date willing to accept of the Benefit of his Excellency General Washington's Proclamation has in consequence of his ill state of health and inability to join hired Benjamin Bingham to serve in his stead during the present War— Bingham appearing to me to be an able bodied and effective Man and from every circumstance it evidently appears to me that the public

will be benefited by the exchange—I from these reasons do consent to receive him and John Adams is hereby discharged the Army.

Given under my hand this
26th of April 1782.

Isaac Sherman

Lt. Col. Commd.

5th Connect. Regiment.

Done by the approbation of Col. Swift Commd of the Connecticut Division.
(Signed) I. Sherman

A true Copy, May 3, 1782.

Attest Thos. Tolman

Register "

Can any reader of the Magazine inform me who the parents of this John Adams were, their residence, or anything relating to his ancestry, and where "Connecticut Village Highlands" was?

NELSON D. ADAMS

Washington, D. C.

MONONGAHELA. — What does it mean? I have always understood it to mean *Falling-in*, or *Mouldering banks*. In the Rev. David Jones's "Journal of Two Visits made to some Indians on the west side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773," p. 10, he says: it "signifies *Falling-in-bank river*." And H. H. Brackenridge, in the Pittsburgh Gazette of July 26th, 1786, says: "The word Monongahela is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, the *Falling-in-Banks*, that is, the stream of the *Falling-in*, or *Mouldering Banks*." But on the 30th of May last, James P. Fleming, of Alleghany City, is reported in the Pittsburgh Gazette to have asserted "that an eminent divine and linguist" states that Monongahela, "in the In-

dian language, signified *fire-water, or ever burning river.*" A writer in the Evening Chronicle, over the signature of "Anxious Inquirer," having asked Mr. Fleming to "favor the public with the name of the eminent divine and linguist," and also "the particular Indian dialect in which Monongahela signifies fire-water, or ever burning river," Mr. Fleming declined to answer what he styled "envious and querulous quibblings of an anonymous scribbler." I would be glad to know the dialect and correct meaning of the word. I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

AN OLD RHODE ISLAND BOOK.—The Vestry of the Episcopal Church of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1723, had a book or tractate published, bearing the following title :

"A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church.—Recommended as proper to be put in the hands of the Laity."

Whether this book was printed in Newport, or not, and whether it was an original publication, or a reprint of some English work, I have not learned. That it was of small dimensions I infer from the price, which was twelve pence.

Is this title known to the collectors? Is a copy of the book to be found in any collection of *Americana*?

C. W. B.

REPLIES

PEPPERRELL COAT OF ARMS.—(II, 754.) In a letter¹ from Sir William Pepperrell, dated from Piscataqua, in New England, December 6th, 1737, and ad-

dressed to Mr. Silas Hooper, of England, occurs the following passage. "I must ask another favour of you, to procure for me and send a handsome marble tomb stone, to put over my dece'd Father's Tombe, with proper marble pillars or supporters to set it on. I would have his Coat of arms Cutt on it, w'ch is three pine apples proper, but you will find it in ye Heralds office, it being an Ancient Arms, and I would have ye following Inscription Engraven on ye Stone. (Here Lyes ye body of the Honorable William Pepperrell, Esqr., who departed this life ye 15th day of February, anno Domini 1733, in ye 87th year of his age, with ye remains of Great part of his family.)" The tomb alluded to is still to be seen, as erected upon Kittery Point, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River in what is now the State of Maine. Over the inscription, as above given, are cut the family arms, a chevron between three pinecones, surmounted by an esquire's helmet, with no crest.² We even find among the Pepperrell papers the original cost of the structure, which, independent of casing, cartage, &c., was £30, 6s. 10d., while "searching for the arms at the Herald Office," incurred an expense of 3s. 6d.

Though the elder Pepperrell is stated to have come from Twistock Co., Devon, the family are usually assigned a Cornish origin. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Walter Pepperrell was Mayor of Plymouth, county Devon, and was interested, with others, in some land called Bushe parke, about three miles from that place, in the parish of Buckland-egg. Contemporary with him

was Richard Pepperrell, who held freehold lands in Chag ford, in the same county. Mention is made of the family in the Harl. MS., 1538, fo. 15 b. (Brit. Mus.), which is a collection of pedigrees taken from the Devon Visitations of 1564 and 1620, with some continuations to 1637. Burke in his *Gen. Armory* gives to the Peppeuerells, or Perperells of Cornwall, arms similar to those of the family of Pepperrell.

On the evening of July 2, 1745, news reached Boston that Louisbourg had capitulated, and two days thereafter Captain John Rouse, of the colonial cruiser Shirley Galley, sailed for England with duplicate despatches. He returned before the end of September, bringing answers of August 10th, from the Duke of Newcastle, one of the Secretaries of State. The *American Magazine* of September, 1745, under date of Monday, 30th, states that, "By letters which came in by Capt. Rouse, we are assured—That the account of the reduction of Cape Breton was received by their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Great Britain with the greatest joy." On receiving advices whereof, at Hanover, His Majesty expressed the highest satisfaction; and that, among other honors conferred, "General Pepperrell was thereupon made a Baronet of Great Britain." An account of this title, the creation of which bears date Nov. 15, 1746, is to be found in *Kimber's Baronetages of Great Britain* (London, 1771), which states that, for the signal services of Sir William, "his Majesty was graciously pleased to confer on him the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and likewise to give him a command of a regiment

of foot, raised for the defense of the said town and fortress, and, soon afterwards, to perpetuate the memory of this event, had the following ensigns of honour granted to him and his descendants, viz :

Arms : Argent, a Chevron, Gules, between three Pine-apples Vert; together with the augmentation of a Canton of the second, with a Fleur-de-Lis of the first.

Crest : An armed Arm, embowered, proper, grasping a staff, thereon a Flag, Argent, issuing out of a Mural Crown, (Argent) with three Laurel Leaves, between the Battlements proper; over the Crest, on an Escrowl, the word PEPERI, ("I have brought forth") and under the Arms this,

Motto : Virtute parta tuemini. ("Defend what is acquired by valor.")³

Having died July 6, 1759, Sir William was interred in the family tomb at Kittery Point. As he left no male issue the title became extinct, but, through his daughter, Elizabeth, he had four grandsons, by the name of Sparhawk. The second of these, William P. Sparhawk, in pursuance of his grandfather's will, assumed the name and arms of Pepperrell, and was created a Baronet, Nov. 9, 1774. Proscribed as a royalist he left the colony, losing his wife, ere he sailed for England, at Halifax. This lady, whom he married Nov. 12, 1767, was Elizabeth, a daughter and co-heiress of Hon. Isaac Royall, of Medford, Mass., by his wife an heiress of the McIntosh family; both families being of Scotch descent. The baronet died in London, Dec. 18, 1816, aged 70, and the title again became extinct. In the

chancel of St. Marys, at Froyle, Hampshire, is an achievement of the Pepperrell arms, bearing on an escutcheon of pretence, Azure, three garbs, two and one, or, for Royall. I. J. G.

¹ N. E. Hist. and General Register, XIX, 147.

² Drawing of the tomb, and of the arms, as cut thereon, are given in Frank Leslie's Illust. News, New York, Dec. 14, 1867. Miss Harriet Hirst Sparhawk, a great granddaughter of Sir William Pepperrell, died at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 27, 1871, aged 90, and was buried in the Pepperrell tomb on Kittery Point.

³ Vide Grants, Vol. IX, fol. 162, Coll. of Arms, London.

CHEROKEE MEDAL.—(III, 55.) In relation to the medal presented to "Sequo-yah," or George Guess, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, Col. Thos. L. McKenney, in his biography of this Indian, states:

"In 1823, he (Guess) determined to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi. In the autumn of the same year, the general council of the Cherokee nation passed a resolution awarding to Guess a silver medal, in token of their regard for his genius, and of their gratitude for the eminent service he rendered to his people. The medal, which was made at Washington City, bore on one side two pipes, on the other a head, with this inscription: "Presented to George Gist by the General Council of the Cherokee Nation for his ingenuity in the invention of the Cherokee Alphabet." The inscription was the same on both sides, except that on one it was in English, and on the other in Cherokee, and in the characters invented by Guess. It was intended that this medal should be

presented at a Council, but two of the chiefs dying, John Ross, who was now the principal chief, being desirous of the honor and gratification of making the presentation, and not knowing when Guess might return to the nation, sent it to him with a written address."

According to an article in Harper's Magazine for September, 1870, Guess died near San Fernandino, Northern Mexico, in 1842. L. S. H.

Washington, D. C.

A CANTSLOPER.—(III, 452.) Although Mr. Craig has anticipated me I am glad he has made this inquiry. Another journal of Col. John May, in MS. and unpublished is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It gives an account of his trading expedition to the North-Western Territory in 1789, accompanied by Messrs. Downer & Breck, and made on *horseback*. In this journal he frequently uses the word "*Cantsloper*;" he sometimes spells it "*Khansloper*," and again "*Kentsloper*." One record says: "May 19. Set out from the foot of Laurel Mountain, *frost last night*, and rode all the morning in my *Cantsloper*!"

Mr. John Jordan, Jr., of the His. Soc. Pa., first called my attention to the word. He writes, "I find in Chambaud's French & English Dictionary, London, 1778, the following:

"*Kennett*—a sort of coarse Welch cloth." "*Slops*—trousers—chausses." Put them together and with a very small sketch we get one word. I had imagined it was an overall or Surtout, but it was probably to protect the legs."

Spier & Surrenne gives as one of the

meanings of the word "Slops"—*hardes de matelots*—sailors breeches, which are known to be wide. Adler defines the word as "*schiffer-hosen*," sailors trousers, and also as "*die weiten hosen*," wide trousers.

Webster derives the word "*Slop*" from the Anglo-Saxon "*Slop*, a frock or outer garment, Icelandic *Sloppe*," hence he defines it, "any kind of outer garment, as a night dress; a smock frock." From the fact that Col. May wore his "*Kent-sloper*" as a protection from the frosty morning air of this mountainous region, I think the article to be a frock of Kennetts, or Welch cloth worn over the body to protect it from the cold. It is to be hoped that if this is not satisfactory, the query will not be forgotten until it is fully answered.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Brownsville, Pa.

GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—(III, 56, 564.) It was a Dr. Turnbull—not "Trumbull"—who founded New Smyrna, and, with the aid of Lord Hillsborough, reduced the colonists to slavery. He was the father of Robert J. Turnbull, of Charleston, S. C., one of the leaders of the nullification party, 1830—32. T.

NOTICE

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

The third session of this Society will be held at Brussels, from the 23d to the 26th September, 1879, under the protection of the King of the Belgians, the presidency of the Count of Flanders and the patronage of the city of Brussels.

Our readers will find (III, 65) accounts of the proceedings of the preceding sessions at Nancy in 1875, and at Luxembourg in 1876, and the programme adopted for the approaching session, which includes History, Archæology, Anthropology and Ethnography, Linguistics and Paleography.

The by-laws of the association admit to the Congress, with right to all of its publications, any persons who apply for a *member's ticket* to the Treasurer or the General Secretary and make payment of twelve francs. This sum may be paid by postal card or banker's cheque on Brussels, Amsterdam, Cologne, London or Paris.

The address of the Treasurer is M. JOSEPH FRÈRE, Director of the Ministère des Finances, rue de Milan 4, Ixelles, Belgium.

The address of the General Secretary is M. Anatole Bamps, Doctor of Law, rue du Marteau, No. 37, Brussels, Belgium.

The American delegation consists of Messrs. R. B. Anderson, of Wisconsin, Hubert Bancroft, of California, Levi Bishop, of Michigan, E. T. Cox and R. S. Robertson, of Indiana, M. F. Force and Stephen Peet, of Ohio, Albert S. Gatschet and Spencer Baird, of the District of Columbia, C. C. Graham, J. K. Paterson and Shaler, of Kentucky, Moody, of Illinois, and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

We trust that our historians and archæologists will be fully represented at this Congress, the proceedings of which will be watched with attentive interest.

EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

HISTORY OF NEW YORK DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND OF THE LEADING EVENTS IN THE OTHER COLONIES AT THAT PERIOD. By THOMAS JONES, Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. Edited by EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY. With notes, contemporary documents, maps and portraits. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 748 and 713. Printed for the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

These volumes are edited and printed with precision and elegance in the highest style of the typographical art. The advertisement prefacing the first volume supplies the reason for the elaborate study and expense which have attended their preparation and publication.

They contain as illustrations in the first volume a fine steel portrait of the author and his wife by Burt from portraits by Arnold; Ratzer's map of the City of New York in 1746 and Sauthier's map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, etc., of 1777; in the second volume, steel engraved views of The Fort Neck House, the author's seat, and an interior view of its hall, the first map of the United States as acknowledged by the Peace of 1783, and a map of the de Lancey Bowery Farm in New York as it was at the time of the revolution.

This history of New York is printed at the expense of the "John D. Jones Fund of the New York Historical Society," from the manuscript of Judge Thomas Jones, who was one of the family of the liberal giver of the fund, and a collateral relative of the painstaking and accomplished editor of these volumes. No labor has been spared to throw every possible gleam of light upon the text, and every known source of information has been thoroughly searched for illustrative details. The manuscript, entirely in the handwriting of Mr. Jones, bears internal evidence of having been written soon after the close of the revolution. It passed into the hands of the Right Rev. William Heathcote de Lancey, late Bishop of Western New York, in 1835, and from him to his son, the present editor. Its publication is announced "to have been delayed from feelings of delicacy until the death of the last of the persons mentioned in the narrative." "The text," the editor adds, "has been given with merely the correction of a few redundancies, colloquialisms and such obvious errors of the pen as occur in all unprinted writings." It is greatly to be deplored that an exact textual reproduction of the original, *verbatim et literatim*, has not been strictly adhered to. So much is said that challenges criticism and demands sub-

stantiation, that it is unfortunate the reader is not left to judge for himself of the *nature* of the redundancies of which the editor gives notice, and the *value* of the "expressions" he has modified. The text and context of the dropped or altered phraseology may perhaps not materially affect the statements themselves, but precisely given they may aid in the formation of a just appreciation of the nature of their author and the animus which prompted them.

The history is a tory history of the war, and is edited in a spirit of defence of those who adhered to the Crown during the revolutionary struggle. An introduction and memoir of the author give an account of his family. He was a grandson of Thomas Jones of Fort Neck, Long Island, the first of his race in America, of Welsh extraction, and native of Strabane, in the county of Tyrone and province of Ulster, in Ireland. He is said to have been a Protestant gentleman, and to have taken part in the wars which finally overthrew the Stuarts, but strangely enough fought on the side of the Catholic dynasty. Emigrating to America, he married in Rhode Island a daughter of Thomas Townsend of Oyster Bay, through whom he acquired a small tract of land at that place, to which he later added largely by purchase. The estate took the name of Fort Neck from an Indian fortification which stood upon it. Here Major Jones lived and died in the "the Brick House," the first building of that material at the east end of Long Island, which he erected in 1696. His eldest son, David Jones, was a lawyer of note, Judge of Queens county, member of the Assembly of New York from Queens, Speaker of the same body from 1745 to 1758, when he was appointed Fourth Justice of the Supreme Court of New York by Lieut. Governor de Lancey, a post which he held until 1773, when he resigned. He died at Fort Neck in 1775. By his wife Anna Willet he had six children. Of this issue, Thomas Jones, the author of the present history, was the third child and eldest son. Born in 1731, he was graduated from Yale College in 1746 at the age of fifteen. He began the practice of the law in New York city, and in 1769 was appointed to the office of Recorder of the city, which he held until 1773, when, on the resignation of his father, Judge David Jones, already mentioned, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court. Meanwhile he had married a daughter of Lieut. Governor de Lancey. As Supreme Court Judge he held the last court for the King for Westchester county at White Plains in April, 1776, and during the session rendered his loyalty to the Crown conspicuous by discharging from cus-

tody several persons arrested by the patriot committee for disloyalty to the cause of the country; an act which he says in his story was the cause of his name being included in the Act of Attainder, and the consequent confiscation of his estate.

Refusing to obey a summons of the New York Provincial Congress, he was arrested at his house at Fort Neck in the month of June following, but discharged on his parole. Again arrested just prior to the battle of Long Island, he was sent to Connecticut to await the result of that contest, but again liberated on written parole in the month of December following. Under this parole he resided at Fort Neck until November, 1779, when he was seized by a party of patriots from Fairfield, and carried off as a hostage for General Gold Selleck Silliman (a college classmate), who had been abducted in a similar manner from his house in Fairfield by a party of Tory refugees. Mr. Jones was held in captivity for six months, and then exchanged for General Silliman. In 1781 he sailed for England, which he reached in safety with his family, and resided first at Bath and later at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, a little village on the River Lea, where he died in 1792.

The first volume opens with the year 1752, "when Great Britain was at peace with all the world," and New York was in its happiest state, a period which the editor terms the "Golden Age of New York," and closes with an account of Arnold's plot and treason in 1780 and the Southern campaign. In the eighteen chapters, which comprehend the period, history, politics and social gossip are treated of by turns and together in a narrative style of extreme clearness and simplicity, at times full of verve and constantly enlivened by anecdote. The quarrels of the religious denominations, the rule of de Lancey and the *wicked* opposition of the Presbyterian triumvirate, Smith, Livingston and Scott, to Trinity Church, and the arrest of Alexander McDougal for libel, make up the first and not the least curious chapter of the book, and leave no doubt as to the opinions of the author. In every line he shows his hatred of dissenters of every hue and of opposition generally, whether in Church or State, New York was then governed by de Lancey, and about every post of honor or station in the gift of the Crown was held by this family and its immediate connections. Later in this history of the war the patriot leaders and the British officials, military and civil, fall under the same bitter resentment—the one for daring to rebel, the other for their failure in repressing the rebellion. The patriots, in his jaundiced vision, were all self-interested and insincere, the British corrupt, venal and inefficient. Nor is his animosity satisfied with general criticism and impugnement of motives, but he never omits an occasion to steep the barb of

malice in personal detraction and abuse, and disgraces himself while he degrades his narrative by scurrilous charges, sometimes covert, sometimes open, upon the character of individuals whom we have been taught to honor, and the reputation of families who are now, as they were then, the best representatives of American civilization.

The second volume opens with an account of affairs in New York in 1780, in April of which year Gen. Robertson issued his proclamation, assuming the government; its historic part begins with a chapter on the responsibilities of the two sides for acts of war in the revolution, in which he holds the balance with even hand between the British and the Americans, and demonstrates that "the burning of towns in times of war in all civilized nations is a usual practice." Following this are ten chapters devoted to biographies, or they may be more properly termed personalities. These give sketches of Schuyler; Lord Stirling; George Clinton; Generals Woodhull, Sullivan and Colonel James Holmes; Colonel John Butler, Isaac Sears, John Lamb; Washington; Charles Lee and Arnold; Donald Campbell; Francis Lewis; Sir William Johnson; Colonel John Harris Cruger and Mrs. Cruger.

We are unwilling to comment upon the nature of these sketches, or notice the personal slanders which they originate or repeat. We are surprised that the Publication Committee of the New York Historical Society should have consented to give them currency under the warrant of their authority.

Of the zeal, conscientiousness and ability with which the vast editorial labors bestowed upon this history have been performed, mention has already been made. This, more than the original material even, makes it a history of New York, a partisan history certainly, but a history in its comprehensiveness. In apparent complete sympathy with the author, except on rare occasions, the editor has fortified every position taken, every statement made in the text as far as it was possible to fortify them. That the book will not be allowed to pass unchallenged is certain. It opens a controversy, in which there will be blows to take as well as blows to give, but from which, we venture to predict, the virtue and honor of the whig element of old New York will come out bright and clear as the noonday sun.

DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION; PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE LATE WAR. By RICHARD TAYLOR, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army. 8vo, pp. 274. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1873.

In a few words of preface the late General announces that he had recorded these his rem-

inascences of secession, war and reconstruction as a duty. He was a personal man, and his views of men and events as thoroughly personal as himself. He had none of that higher faculty which enables the true historian, even in scenes in which he participated, to step out from the circle of his self-consciousness and review the revolving events from an independent standpoint. Perhaps it was in appreciation of this that he gives the name of *Personal Experiences* to a volume which covers a field of critical observation larger than that which came under his own eye.

A slight sketch of him by a brother, Confederate officer in a recent number of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, alluding to his military career, says, "that it was exceptionally successful, and that he was never involved in disaster, or identified with any defeat during the four years of his varied and active service. And of his personal characteristics the same well-informed gentleman says that "his absolute self-reliance amounted to a total irreverence for any man's opinion," a trait which no one will doubt who will peruse these volumes.

It is difficult in a brief notice to give even an idea of the merits and faults of this peculiar volume. Interesting in narrative, graphic in description, striking in its analysis of character, sometimes philosophical, constantly metaphysical, it is unsatisfactory and incomplete. The naturally simple style is obscured by a pretentious manner of illustration, in which history and literature are ransacked for imagery. On one single page, which we open at hazard, we find in close proximity President Grant and Dame Fortune, Malvolio, Sir Toby and Haroun Al Raschid, the Duke of Wellington, Othello, Desdemona, Iago, Phalaris, Agrimentum, Monsieur Fourton and the "harridan of radicalism," whose name is not given. It is amazing to think that a graduate of Yale could be guilty of such wretched taste.

In the conduct of the war General Taylor found but little to be satisfied with even on the Confederate side. Even of Gen. Lee, whom he considers as "towering above all on both sides, as the pyramid of Ghizeh above the desert," he considers that "his tactical manœuvres on the field were inferior to the strategy." Surely history will record that if the Confederates were the superiors on the field they claim to be, they did not take advantage of their successes. Jackson alone, with his restlessness and consequent indomitable activity, seems to have been a soldier wholly to the taste of his equally restless follower.

In a phrase worthy of Tacitus in its meaning conciseness, Gen. Taylor says of him, that he "could set no limit to his ability, because he was always superior to occasion."

The description of Jackson's vast all-absorbing

ambition is not only the strongest passage in the book, but it aptly applies to Secession itself, which was as measureless in its ambition and as fanatical in its faith in final triumph. Of Jefferson Davis, who was his brother-in-law, he says but little. His only mention is to pay a tribute to his amiability, and to relate a visit to him while in confinement at Fortress Monroe.

We wish we could stop here. Of the politics of the book, we have not a word to say. They were what might be expected of one who to his death would not submit to the conditions of reconstruction, which would have restored to him his citizenship and his confiscated estate. But we trust there are few of his companions who are capable of the abuse, better suitable to a Thersites than a true soldier, which he lavishes upon the Generals and officials of the Union he sought to overthrow.

Nor yet do we care to characterize the contemptuous opinion he expresses of the state in which he found Northern society at the close of the war. It is not to be denied that, as usual in all great civil contests, and particularly in those which are accompanied by a depreciation of the currency, *society* changes its phases, and new people, men and women, come to the surface; but to say that "society disappeared" at the North is simply ridiculous.

Nor is it true, as General Taylor says, that, "as in the middle ages, to escape pollution, honorable men and refined women (and there are many such in the North) fled to sanctuary and the desert, or, like early Christians in the catacombs, met secretly and in fear. The masses sank into a condition that would disgrace Australian natives, and lost all power of discrimination."

Where were these hiding places for the honorable men and refined women, the "dear friends" of General Taylor, with whom he says he spent the most of his time for three years after the war? New York in the winters, Newport in the summers, were his habitual haunts, and he was the constant guest of the very society he abuses. We regret the book; we regret that he did not live to repent of and retract it.

General Taylor was a great favorite in society and possessed rare conversational powers. His position as private Secretary to his father when President of the United States brought him, while yet in early manhood, into personal contact with the leading men of both political parties, and established relations which he continued unbroken through all the vicissitudes of his career. Abroad he was received in the highest circles with marked distinction, and no American of our day had freer access to the titled society of England than he. He died in New York in the prime of life, having just passed his fifty-third year.

AMERICAN AUTHORS—WASHINGTON

IRVING, By DAVID J. HILL. With portrait on steel. 16mo, pp. 234. SHELDON & Co. New York, 1879.

This series of personal literary and anecdotal biographies of leading American authors in all walks, happily begins with a sketch of Irving, certainly the best known and the most popular of them all. They are intended to combine pleasant reading with instructive example, and without critical analysis or disquisition, to give an easy running account of the personal traits and literary successes of their subjects; in a word, to fill a place halfway between the slender sketches of biographical dictionaries or literary cyclopædias and the compendious "lives and letters" which belong to library shelves.

The work is pleasantly handled in a chronological order, and will certainly realize the author's wish to stimulate the reader to know more of Irving. Those who knew him will turn with interest to the last chapter on "the man and the writer." It is difficult to portray a nature so charming in its simplicity and modesty, its tenderness, its playfulness and reserve as that of Irving. His appearance in literature was a surprise. Jeffrey was amazed to find that an American could write English on the model of the most elegant and polished of native authors. Alexander H. Everett called him the Morning Star of our heavenly host. Mr. Hill finds his source of power to be in his sensibility to outward impressions and his faculty of form. He was a thorough artist, perfect in description. Yet Mr. Hill denies him the creative faculty. But what characters are more original than his Van Winkle and Ichabod Crane, and the doughty Paladins of New Amsterdam. They stand out from the canvass of literature as imperishable as the creations of Shakespeare or of Dickens. Mr. Hill thoroughly vindicates the nationality of Irving's works, while claiming for him a cosmopolitan nature. True enough, all mankind were kin to his large generous heart. He is properly styled the Father of American letters.

POLAR COLONIZATION — MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS AND ACTION OF SCIENTIFIC AND COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATIONS. 8vo, pp. 143.

This memoir to the Forty-fifth Congress was prepared by Henry W. Howgate, U. S. A., in the hope of convincing it of the wisdom of supporting a plan for the establishment of a temporary Arctic colony in the interest of scientific discovery. An outline map of the North Polar regions of the western hemisphere, showing the location of the proposed colony on Lady Franklin Bay, prefaces the memorial. This is laid down at the mouth of Lady Franklin Channel,

on the northern shore of Hall Basin. At Hall Basin is the confluence of the waters of Kennedy Channel and Peterman Fiord from the south with Lady Franklin Sound and Robeson Channel from the north. It lies a little south of the eighty-second parallel of north latitude, and between longitudes 64° and 66°, on what is called Grant Land, the northern borders of which are washed by the Polar Sea.

The expedition of Captain Hall in the *Polaris* in 1871, and of Captain Nares in the *Alert* and *Discovery* in 1875, demonstrated that steam vessels can reach the entrance to Robeson's Channel in latitude 81° north with comparative ease, and that the serious difficulties to be overcome in reaching the Pole are to be encountered above that point. The inference naturally follows that the most economical and promising plan of operation is to establish a settlement at this point as a point of departure for future expeditions, which can avail of every temporary advantage that the seasons may offer, and accumulate observations of climatic and atmospheric changes of priceless value to the outgoing navigator. The lookout of the *Polaris* reported open water in sight from the upper end of Robeson's Channel, just beyond an intervening pack of ice. In 1875 and 1876 Captain Nares here found solid ice, impenetrable to vessels and impassable by sledges. This indicates that there are variations in the ice movement, which can only certainly be taken advantage of by a colony on the spot. Hall's experience was that each year of residence better acclimated him and better fitted him for the work of exploration. A colony of fifty resolute men is proposed, thoroughly equipped, with whom annual communication should be maintained. The memorial includes a detail of the necessities required for such an expedition, and indicates the route to be taken; that by Smith's Sound being recommended.

A bill in accord with the plan of Captain Howgate was submitted to the House in January, 1877, and reported on favorably by the Committee on Naval Affairs. In the summer of the same year a preliminary expedition was fitted out by private subscription, and the *Florence* sailed from New London, under the command of Captain George G. Tyson, who had served with Hall on the *Polaris*, on the 19th July. His instructions directed him to procure a colony of ten families of Esquimaux, a train of twenty-five dogs, with two sledges, and a supply of fur and skin clothing, sufficient to supply fifty persons for three years. The plan included the capture of enough whales on the voyage to provide a profitable return cargo. The *Florence* was to meet with the vessel sent out with the members and outfit of the colony of *Disco* in August, 1878, transfer to it his acquisitions of Esquimaux dogs, etc., and return

to New London. Mr. O. T. Sherman accompanied it as Meteorologist and Mr. J. Kumlein as Naturalist, both with precise instructions.

An appendix to the memoir gives Captain Howgate's plan for the exploration, a paper read before the American Geographical Society, January 31, 1878, an occasion illustrated by the presence of the Earl of Dufferin and Mr. William Cullen Bryant. To this are added resolutions and approval of the purposes of the expedition from all parts of the United States, scientific and mercantile societies, high naval officers, and letters from the Arctic explorers, Julius Payer of Frankfort-on-the-Main, Dr. John Rae of London, J. Wall Wilson of the second Grinnell expedition and the Geographical Society of France.

To an American, Captain Hall, is due the original conception of Arctic exploration by the aid of the natives from a fixed point of settlement, and it seems as though the crowning success is reserved to the successful prosecution of the plan he devised.

Photographic views of Discovery Bay, the seat of the proposed colony, in summer and winter, illustrate the memoir.

MONEY AND CURRENCY. A paper read before the Philosophical Society of Evanston, Illinois, by CHARLES RANDOLPH, December 9, 1878. 8vo, pp. 35. KNIGHT & LEONARD, printers. Chicago, 1878.

In all arguments the first necessity is an agreement upon the precise meaning of the terms employed. In no class of reasoning is there to be found greater confusion on this subject than in that affecting the character and uses of money. A paper like this, therefore, intended to define the distinctions between true money and its paper representatives, is always valuable, and peculiarly appropriate now, when the present equality of value between the precious metals and the legal-tender notes of the Government and those of the National banks may tempt the belief that such equality will be uninterruptedly maintained. So long as our exports not only pay for our imports, but provide exchange enough to pay the interest upon our bonds of whatever character, national or of corporations, held abroad, it is not possible that such equality of value can be disturbed, but this is by no means certain to be the case, and depends on circumstances which there is no power in the United States to control, and should they change the question as to how much paper currency can be floated on a par with coin must be met.

Aristotle is reported to have said of money, that "it exists not by nature, but by law;" and, from his day until our own, law has decreed that

the precious metals coined, and they alone, are money—and the ultimate solvent of all contracts, whether in the form of government or individual obligations of currency or credit.

Mr. Charles Randolph is well known as long the clear-headed, accomplished Secretary of the National Board of Trade, and his views are important, from the fact that they address themselves to the very class of Western people among whom false ideas of the nature of money most prevail. In our reviews of this class of contemporary literature we have repeatedly expressed regret at the unqualified denunciation of the greenback. The Western country look upon the government note as the best form of paper currency, and the National Bank note as a species of favoritism to a privileged class, who are by it enabled to make double interest on their capital. This question need not now be argued. The one important object to be attained is a retirement of sufficient paper from the circulating medium, and the restoration of gold and silver to the daily uses of the people. When we shall have three hundred millions of dollars in gold and silver passing from hand to hand in daily transactions, and the paper issues, whether of government or banks, reduced to the same amount, our circulating medium will be on a sound basis, and the gold reserve in the country sufficient to meet any sudden extraordinary demand for export, and the annual production of coin in the country keep pace with the increased necessities for money.

We notice one partial error in Mr. Randolph's statement. He says that Congress at the instance of Mr. Chase made the notes of the Government legal tenders because of the depreciation. This is not precisely the fact. Mr. Chase had them made legal tenders because certain bank officers in New York, angry because their own pet bank schemes had not been accepted by him, "threw them over the counter," as the phrase is, *i. e.*, declined to receive them. As the Secretary had no coin at command, he had no other resource. Notwithstanding his later expression of opinion, it is idle to suppose that the Government could have carried on its enormous transactions with a class of paper that the banks could refuse. What could have been done with their unanimous consent is another question. It could not then have been obtained.

Mr. Randolph concludes, 1st, that a convertible paper circulation is a necessity; 2d, that the paper currency issued under any other authority than that of the United States will not be tolerated; 3d, that the forms of paper currency in circulation are satisfactory. The only unsettled question is, whether the legal-tender quality shall be maintained. Decidedly not; when the volume of paper currency is sufficiently reduced and sufficient coin be floating in the circulating medium, the legal-tender quality should

be removed, and the note be stamped "redeemable in coin on presentation at any sub-treasury of the United States." Mr. Randolph evidently leans to a withdrawal of the National Bank notes, and to leave the entire currency to the issue by the Government. The objection to this is claimed to be the danger of Congressional interference with the amount of issues. One thing is certain, that there is no more dangerous thing than an extension of paper currency to meet the requirements of trade. We are a specie producing country, and therefore our policy as well as duty is to support the fullest possible use of coin in our transactions. The amount of paper should be strictly limited by law; the elasticity should be in the coin. The more we use of it, the greater will that elasticity be. We invite attention to one notable circumstance, that while in the year 1878 the Treasury Department was accumulating coin in preparation for resumption in January, 1879, the banks in the same period reduced their reserve, showing an evident purpose to leave the burthen of carrying the coin on the Treasury; a mistaken policy, if specie payment is to be maintained.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY. By ALBERT WELLES. 8vo, pp. xxix. New York, 1878.

These are specimen pages of a volume in royal octavo, entitled Pedigree and History of the Washington Family, shortly to be issued by Mr. Welles. The publication in the Washington number of the Magazine of American History (February, 1879) of a genealogy of the Holland and German branch of the Washington Family has been the occasion of a dispute, in which Mr. Welles on the one side claims that he can establish by *legal evidence*, obtained by researches of thirty years duration, the lineal descent of Washington from the English progenitor of the family; and Col. Chester on the other, an American gentleman residing in London, and distinguished as a genealogist, asserts that no such connection can be made. Mr. Welles traces back the genealogy of the American Washington to Thorfin the Dane. According to this statement, Colonel John Washington of Warton and Lawrence, his brother, who emigrated to America in 1659, were the sons of Leonard Washington of Warton, who was the son of Lawrence Washington of Warton. This direct connection with Lawrence, whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather were named Lawrence, give color to the correctness of the descent. Perhaps, however, the legal connection may not in the eyes of Colonel Chester be sufficiently established. Thorfin the Dane reached, Mr. Welles gives the pedigree of that worthy as

thirty-second in descent from Odin through Skold of Jutland. "Sic itur ad astra."

THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ROBERT MORRIS. A chapter from a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States." By ALBERT S. BOLLES. Reprint from Penn Monthly for October, 1878.

The administration of the finances of the United States by Robert Morris forms one of the most important chapters in its history. To it may be traced many of the forms of finance which have prevailed, and some not less important which have been abandoned in practice. Morris assumed the direction of the Treasury at a critical period of the revolution. The French contingent had been landed at Newport in the summer of 1780; the States had been called upon to raise forces for an active and conclusive campaign, while the low state of American credit, and the precarious situation of the French Treasury, which the genius of Necker had for the moment galvanized into new, but in the opinion of many, temporary activity, showed the imperative need of extraordinary effort. In November the States were asked to furnish six millions of dollars, partly in specific articles at fixed prices, and the rest in four quarterly payments. On the 16th March, 1781, Congress adopted a measure, providing that all debts due from the United States for sums received in gold or silver, or other money equivalent, should be paid in the same. At the same time the States were requested to repeal all legislation making bills of credit a legal tender. The Continental currency had already fallen to a low point. In April a committee reported the public debt in specie at twenty-four millions, and the estimate for the coming year at nineteen and a half millions, the debt owed abroad being six millions of dollars. Congress now attempted to fund the outstanding debt on a specie basis in interest bearing obligations. But as the public exigencies admitted of no delay, they could not wait for the State quotas, and drew on the States, payable at thirty days, for their unpaid balances.

To further the financial operations of the Treasury, Morris, soon after his assumption of office, devised a plan of a National Bank. This had been favored by Hamilton, and was now approved by Congress. The bank was incorporated under the name of the Bank of North America, with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars. For coin Morris relied on the Governor-General of Havana, who was to be repaid by shipments of flour, guaranteed by France. The bank began operations with only forty thousand dollars in specie. Naturally its issues could not be maintained at par, and fell from ten to fifteen per cent. discount. To

arrest this depreciation, Morris applied himself to devise means to create a demand for the notes. They soon rose to par. While endeavoring to obtain aid from France, his chief reliance was on America. A scheme of taxation which should lean equally on all the States was impossible, some of them being occupied by the enemy. With the technical skill of a practical financier he kept some life in the Continental issues by accepting them for taxes, and by not reissuing, contracted the volume and maintained, if he did not raise their value. Such was his skill that he sustained himself for the first year without receiving a shilling of specie. The deficit in 1783 exceeded eight millions of dollars. He next set himself to work to replace the system of specific supplies furnished by the States, and paid in Government certificates, by direct Government contracts. By this he avoided the enormous frauds inherent to the other plan. When the Government credit was not sufficient, he supplemented it with his own, which was unimpeached. In every case his individual obligations were met, and in consequence, after a first hesitation, they rose to par, and were readily taken.

After long delay all the States, except Rhode Island, consented that Congress should levy a duty of five per cent. on importations, the States to be credited with the amounts collected in their territory. These sums Morris hoped to induce the States to receive in National obligations, similar to what are called inscriptions on the National debt. Connecticut, which had sought to appropriate the revenues thus collected for her own uses, revised her legislation to meet his views, but Rhode Island refused to yield. Morris saw in the failure of this scheme the weakness of the Articles of Confederation.

In reducing the expenses of the Government Morris was eminently successful; but we are inclined to side with Pickering in his condemnation of Morris' order to him to clip the gold coin issued by the bank at Philadelphia, because they were heavier than required by law. Morris was equally successful in diminishing the number of officials. In one day he dismissed one hundred and forty-six supernumary officers.

In coinage Morris favored a single standard, and that of silver. He did not find it necessary to measure the money unit by a coin. This is easily understood when we remember the great variety of money in use in the colonies in Spanish, Dutch, French and English coins of both metals. The same practice of a fictitious money unit exists to-day in Hamburg, where all the infinite variety of coins afloat are resolved into the *marc-banco*, for which there is no coin equivalent. His plan was based on a decimal coinage.

The public debt January 1, 1783, was forty-two millions of dollars of which about eight

millions were owed abroad. A funding bill was passed at the close of the year, but it was inadequate in its provisions. A specific tax on spirits and leading staples of importation, and an *ad valorem* duty on all other importations, was resolved on, but Rhode Island vetoed it by declining her consent. "Notwithstanding the poverty of the Treasury," writes Mr. Bolles, "the States were literally overrun with cash; the French and English armies had brought thither large quantities, while foreign loans and trade had largely added to the stock of gold and silver. Bills on Europe were currently sold at twenty to forty per cent. below par, a rate so favorable to the merchants that they purchased bills, and remitted them to Europe in payment of imports, which flowed into the country in great quantities." In this we find some explanation of the facility with which Morris was able to face the difficulties which confronted him. During his whole administration he had an abiding faith that with proper provisions the public credit in America would be the best in the world. Morris, Mr. Bolles concludes, was in truth the peerless financier of the revolution. Indeed he was the only practical one; Hamilton, whose grasp of the subject was intuitive, having as yet had no practical experience.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN. A quarterly journal devoted to Early American History, Ethnology and Archaeology. Vol. I, No. 3. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. Published by BROOKS, SCHINKEL & Co. Cleveland, Ohio, 1879.

This publication is exclusively devoted to early history, ethnology and archaeology. This number begins with a paper, by Edwin A. Barber, on Native American Architecture. He traces the progress of this practical science from its primitive state of cave dwellings up to the higher stage of stone structures, specimens of all which are to be found in this country, and gives a comprehensive view of the different forms of Aboriginal architecture. Attention is first invited to the similarity between the pile-dwellings of the ancient Mexicans and the *palafittes* or lacustrine villages of ancient Switzerland, showing that the constructive instincts of man find analogous forms of expression. Next comes the architecture of the Moundbuilders. In the adobe and stone buildings of the Pueblos of Mexico an advance is noted, and in the megalithic architecture of Mexico and Central America is found the culmination of Aboriginal art on the Western Continent, which can be favorably compared with the famous ruins of the East. Some text illustrations give a satisfactory idea of the cliff houses. The true arch, Mr. Barber says, was unknown to the

people of the Western Continent. Nor was it known, as Stephens informs us, to the ancient Egyptians, Greeks or Etruscans.

The second article, by R. J. Farquharson, is on *Phonetic Elements in American Languages*. Another notable paper is the Report of M. C. Reid of Hudson, Ohio, on the Inscribed Stone of the Grave Creek Mound. The subject is elaborately discussed, and the conclusions arrived at are not favorable to the authenticity of the inscription, which it is considered might have been manufactured by any laborer of ordinary intelligence, while the evidence that the stone came from the mound is unsatisfactory.

The editor supplies an article on the Bible Narrative and Heathen Traditions, in which he recites the traces of the facts mentioned in Genesis found in the traditions of all nations. The resemblance between the myths of the ancients and the rich and beautiful American mythology is noticed. The subject is examined in the light of scientific investigation, independently of its relation to the authenticity or authority of the Bible as a religious book. The stories of a deluge, of a tree and serpent worship and of the creation may, it is held, be similar, because of a similar national experience, but the coincidences are so numerous in Eastern nations as to point to a common origin. In the Western nations also numerous coincident myths are found. The American traditions are not here treated of.

Mr Albert Gatschet, whose name is familiar to our readers from his exhaustive paper on the Indian Languages of the Pacific Coast [*Mag. Am. Hist.*, I. 145], comments upon the mythological text in the Klamath language of Southern Oregon—in which the creation is related. We here recall the tradition of the creation, which La Salle found among the Iroquois, which appeared in a translation from Mr. Margry's recent work in the Magazine [II. 238].

We heartily commend this interesting periodical, printed at the very center of American archaeological interest.

LETTERS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS. With an introduction. By GEORGE DEXTER. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 22. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON. Boston, 1878.

In our January number [III. 61] attention was invited to the sumptuous volume of the *Cartas de Indias*, published by the Spanish Government. This volume contained two letters of Columbus and one of Vespuccius never before printed. Of the last we gave a translation in the Magazine for March [III. 193]. All three appear in a translation in this pamphlet, pre-

ceded by a valuable critical introduction. The Spanish editors express the opinion that the date of the first letter of Columbus was at the end of 1496 or the beginning of 1497, but Mr. Dexter considers it be of earlier date, and supports his theory with convincing argument. The date he assigns is between March 15th and September 25th, 1493, when he sailed from Palos on his second voyage.

HISTORY OF THE ELY-REUNION, HELD AT LYME, CONNECTICUT, JULY 10TH, 1878. 8vo, pp. 158. STYLES & CASH. New York, 1879.

This account of the reunion of the descendants of Richard Ely, who came from Plymouth, England, in 1660, and settled at Lyme, on the Connecticut River, is announced as the forerunner of a more exhaustive history of the family, including a genealogy of those of the name in America. A Prospectus of the work is annexed to the sketch, with a form of queries, which persons interested are requested to answer.

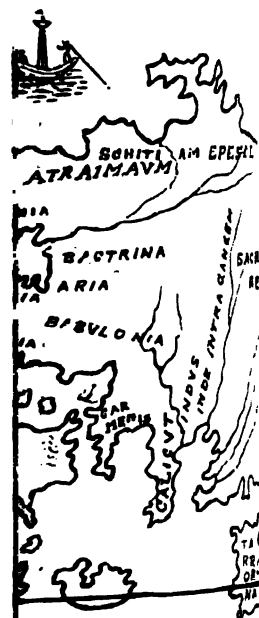
Among those present on the occasion described was the late most excellent and worthy Mayor of New York, Smith Ely, and in the names of descendants of the first settler in the female line are Beach, Eaton, Goodrich, Griswold, Hill, Perkins, Selden, Silliman and Waite. Of the last of these, Chief Justice Waite, is the most distinguished representative. In a paper, submitted at the meeting by the Rev. Wm. B. Cary, it is stated that there were three distinct settlements of the Elys in this country in the seventeenth century. The first that of Nathaniel near Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1635; second, that of Richard at Lyme in 1660; third, that of Joshua at Trenton in 1683. The curious reader will be rewarded by the perusal of a disquisition on the English surname Ely, which the author traces to one Helic, an old British king.

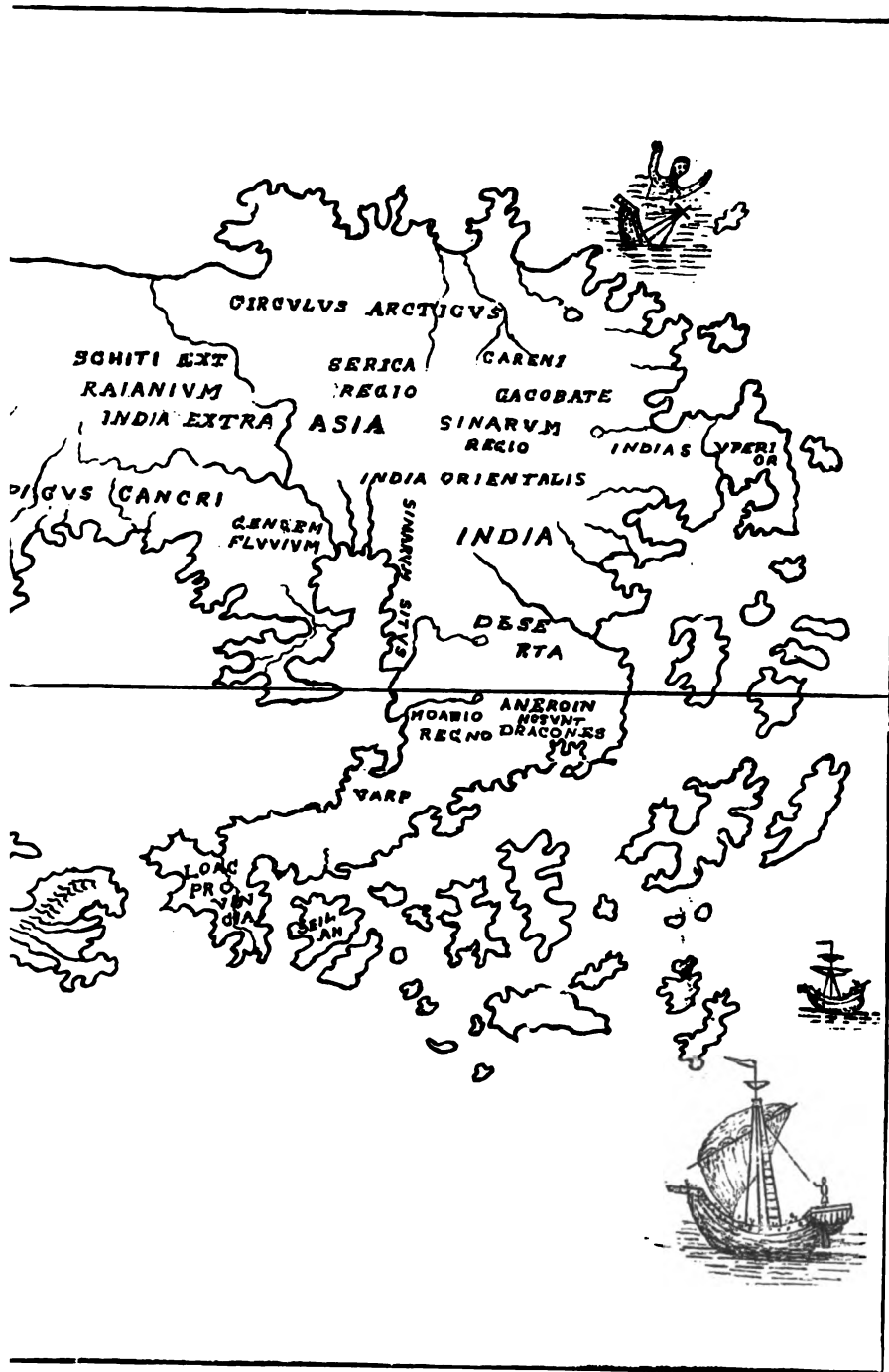
The pamphlet is well printed, the pages being ornamented with a marginal line of red, "true Ely color."

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN — A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. April, May, June, 1879, Vol. I, No. 4. 8vo. JAMESON & MORSE, Chicago.

The office of publication of this valuable periodical has been changed from Cleveland to Chicago, and the editor makes a personal appeal to its patrons to place it in a secure and permanent position. We wish it the success which its painstaking editor deserves.

LOBE





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THE LENOX GLOBE

THE Lenox Globe was found in Paris about twenty-five years ago by Mr. Richard M. Hunt, who presented it to Mr. James Lenox, the munificent founder of the institution which bears his name, the gift forming a graceful and appropriate recognition of the interest taken by Mr. Lenox in everything that relates to the history of America.

The Lenox Globe is the smallest of the ancient globes, being only about five inches in diameter, though this is half an inch more than the diameter of the prize globe of the Paris Exposition. The Lenox Globe is of copper and the workmanship is good, it being constructed in two sections, fitting together like a box, as in the case of the Vlpus Globe, the joint forming the Equatorial line. The degrees of latitude and longitude are not indicated, but on the sketch, of the size of the original, a scale is added. The date and the maker's name are both wanting, but there can, perhaps, be little doubt respecting its age, which, for various reasons, may be placed at the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511.

It will be observed that the eastern hemisphere occupies a disproportionate part of the longitudinal surface; yet on the other hand, many of the principal latitudes appear tolerably correct for the period in which the globe was made. The mountings of the globe are lost.

The date of 1510-11 has been assigned, for the reason, amongst others, that, while several of its representations are in advance of the published knowledge of 1508, they are behind that of 1511-12. Of course the simple fact that an instrument of this kind represents the condition of geographical knowledge at a certain period does not infallibly prove that it was produced at that particular period. Under peculiar circumstances, it would be possible for an instrument like this to possess many of the marks which indicate an early origin, simply through the failure of the projector to incorporate the results of the latest explorations, concerning which he might have been ignorant; but this suggestion, in

order to have any weight in the present case, should be supported by some proof of such ignorance. Respecting the points on which the globe gives no light, information was, nevertheless, so wide-spread in 1511 as to render it difficult to believe that any globe or map maker of the period could have failed to know of its existence. It is true that old maps often occur in new books. This was the case with many of the early geographical works; but in every such instance it is easy to show that the map is not in accordance with the text, and that the map was introduced by the publisher in lieu of something better. No such suggestion will apply to the Lenox Globe.

The date of this globe being deduced mainly from its representations of America, let us give a brief *resumé* of the condition of geographical knowledge respecting the New World for several years subsequent to 1510.

In the year 1500, Juan de la Cosa, the Pilot of Columbus, drew a map of the New World, but North America does not appear, Newfoundland being represented as a part of Asia. In 1508, on the map of John Ruysch, Newfoundland also appears as a part of Asia, being marked "Terra Nova." On the Lenox Globe, however, Newfoundland appears as an island, though without any name, and at the same time no part of continental North America is laid down. In Peter Martyr's work (*Legatio Babylonica*) of the following year, Florida appears as "Beimeni," while Stobnicza's map in the Ptolemy of 1512, gives a rough view of North America, similar to that found in the Ptolemy of 1513. The very early map attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (*Archeologia*, Vol. XL) shows "Florida" as an island, but since the map was not published no inference can be drawn from it. The maps of 1511, 1512 and 1513 nevertheless must have been known to every intelligent person engaged in globe making, and if the Lenox Globe had been made during those years, or later, it would have reflected information published to the world. This globe, therefore, takes its place in the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511. After passing this year, and reaching 1520, the newly found lands are so well known as to be celebrated in an English poem, entitled the "Four Elements."¹ The argument is indeed negative, but nevertheless it may be accepted as relevant.

What has been said thus far applies only to North America, but, upon turning to South America, the representation has the appearance of belonging to a period later than 1511. In fact, the entire continent is laid down, though apart from the Lenox Globe, no analogous representation is found before that of Schöner, 1520. This circumstance might,

therefore, lead some to conclude that the globe originated at a late period. If, however, it were to be argued that the Lenox Globe belongs to a period subsequent to Schöner, it might be necessary to assign its date to the sixteenth century. Le Maire and Schouten did not explore that region until 1615. But this question is one that may be disembarassed, for it will not prove a difficult task to show how the globe-maker may have obtained, in 1610, the knowledge which he exhibits.

In order to present the subject with clearness, it will be useful to state first, that Cosa's maps of 1500 exhibited the northern coast of South America, together with the eastern coast down to about 25° S. The map of Ruysch, 1508, also showed the eastern coast, but only down to 38° S.; while Sylvanus, in the Ptolemy of 1511, stopped at 35° S.; Stobnicza, 1512, at 40° S.; the Ptolemy of 1513 at 39° S.; and the Margarita Philosophica of Gregory Ruysch, 1516, at 49° S. Nevertheless the Lenox Globe gives all of South America, the drawing alone rendering it probable that the draughtsman was not unacquainted with the configuration of Terra del Fuego. How, then, could the globe-maker have known that South America terminated in such a form near latitude 55° S.? How, in fact, could he have known that it terminated at all, especially since sketches later than 1515, with one or two unimportant exceptions, represented Terra del Fuego as joined to a great continent, supposed to cover the entire region around the south pole?

On this point it may be observed that such a termination to South America was doubtless rendered probable by the argument from analogy. The ordinary observer must have perceived that the great bodies of land on the globe terminated towards the south in points. Good reasons also exist for believing that Africa was accepted as the type of South America. But it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that the termination of South America was known in 1510, even though its circumnavigation had not been accomplished. In 1508 it was recorded by Ruysch, that navigators had reached 50° S. On his map is found a Latin legend, translated as follows: "Portuguese mariners discovered this part of this territory, and proceeded as high as the fiftieth degree of South latitude, but without reaching its southern extremity." Humboldt (*Examen Critique*, II. 7) calls attention to the fact that in the fourteenth chapter of the work, in which the map of Ruysch appears, there is a separate statement, to the effect that the Portuguese had surveyed the coast of South America as far as 37° S., and that it was known as far as 50° S. by report. Thus in 1508 there existed at Rome a general understanding of the coast to within about two degrees

of the entrance to the Straits of Magellan. With such facts before him, Humboldt came to the conclusion that between the years 1500 and 1508 a succession of attempts were made by the Portuguese along the coast of South America, beginning at Porto Seguro in latitude 16° S. Vespucci is even credited with having gone to 52° S. Still the student is not justified, with such data, in declaring precisely how far the navigators knew the region by actual observation. The inference is that the navigators who passed along that region viewed the strait afterwards discovered by Magellan as an inlet, and that they learned from the natives the configuration of Terra del Fuego. Such information has been given to navigators in every part of the world. Cartier in Canada knew of the great lakes from the aborigines. The Indians also drew rough sketches for Champlain in New England. The Hudson's Bay Company possess at their House important sketches made by the Indians; while Balboa, called the "Discoverer" of the Pacific, had the Pacific discovered for him by the Cacique of Zumaco, who, upon the arrival of the Spaniard in the Bay of Panama, figured for him the coasts of Quito, and described the riches of Peru. (*Examen Critique* II. 13.) Columbus on his fourth voyage learned of the existence of water beyond Darien. (Select Letters, p. 175.) Parry and Ross had the coast lines of their charts extended for them by the Esquimaux. This was all that the Spanish and Portuguese navigators needed to have done for them by the natives of Terra del Fuego.

Sometimes the information thus derived was of great value, and it would appear that the maker of the Lenox Globe had received information of this kind. The principle in accordance with which the age of this globe is to be deduced is now therefore quite clear. The absence of any allusion to the continent of North America would seem conclusive. Perhaps it is not too much to believe that this globe has some connection with the Third Voyage of Vespucci, which brought him to the latitude of the Straits of Magellan. Peter Martyr, writing to the Pope in 1514, seems to have a definite view of the shape of South America quite in advance of published maps. Being "secretly together in a chamber" with the Bishop of Burgos, Martyr says that they examined many sea charts, one of which Vespucci "was said to have set his hand," while another had been influenced by both Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus. Speaking of South America, he says it "reaches forth into the sea even as Italy doth, although not like the leg of a man, as it does." (Dec. II.) Thus in 1514 South America had been figured more or less as drawn upon the Lenox Globe.

Another interesting and important feature of the globe transports the student to the far East. The globe shows very distinctly a large island, without any name, lying in the Indian Ocean. To the northward of this island is another, called "Madagascar," though the true Madagascar is laid down in its proper place without any name. Northward of the supposed Madagascar is an island called "Certina." Since, however, this part of the Indian Ocean contains no such vast island, and since Australia does not appear in its proper place, it may be allowable to suggest, though we do so with extreme diffidence, that Australia is represented by the great island in question, which was misplaced; while the so-called "Madagascar" and "Certina" are simply Sumatra and Java. Three other islands without names correspond to Sumbawa, Floris and Timor.

The uncertainty of the globe-maker respecting Madagascar may be explained by the fact, that it was not until 1508 that D'Acugna made his exploration of the island, though it was known to Marco Polo. This excuse, however, cannot be offered for those who later represented Zanzibar as a great island out in the ocean.

The globe at Frankfort, which belongs to the period of Schöner, 1520, has an island similar in form and situation to the nameless island of the Lenox Globe, but in a reversed position, and called Madagascar. In Bordone's *Isolaria* (fols. 28-9 and 70, ed. 1528) Zanzibar is thus represented.

In support of the suggestion that the "Madagascar" and "Certina" of the globe are simply Sumatra and Java misplaced, we may cite the fact that the well-known islands of Sumatra and Java do not appear in their places, while the Malayan peninsula, called upon the globe "Loac," is extended so far south as to confuse the geography of the whole region. Acting, however, in accordance with the suggestion offered, it would prove an easy task to bring order out of the confusion. This may be done by moving the great nameless island into the position occupied by Australia on the modern maps, carrying with it "Certina," the so-called "Madagascar," and the three islands without name. When this is done, the student will have before him a tolerable indication of the geography of that region. Borneo and Celebes (called "Java Minor" by Ramusio), having their proper place, New Guiana, without any name, also appearing. In accordance with this view, it would be necessary to conclude that, though misplaced upon the Lenox Globe, Australia was known to the geographers of that early period.

It is true that one of the first references to the southern coast of Australia in the seventeenth century was that of 1627, when a Dutch

ship sailed along the shore for a distance of a thousand miles, while one of the earliest maps of that century which showed the outlines of Australia was the Montanus map, 1572. Nevertheless it is probable that Australia was known centuries before, when the Chinese, with the mariners' compass, navigated those seas. From Lelewel's sketch of map of Edrezi it is evident that the region including Java was perfectly well known in 1154. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo traveled with a map of the world in his hand, by the aid of which he appears to have described Madagascar. At that period the great island of Australia, lying close to well-known islands, could hardly have remained unknown to geographers. It would appear that the "Java Minor" of Marco, a term applied by him to Sumatra, came eventually to include the entire region. That this was so appears from the fact that names belonging to Java and the neighboring islands are given on maps of a later period. The Globe of Vlpnius illustrates this phase of the question, Java Minor appearing as a very large island, and the true Java not being laid down at all. Four maps with similar characteristics, belonging to same period, are discussed by Mr. Major in the Hakluyt Society's work on Australia, and the matter is also touched upon in his "Prince Henry" (p. 441). Some of the geographers endeavored to set off Java, reduced to proper proportions, Schöner, 1520, being amongst the number; but in the attempt Australia in some cases disappeared altogether. On the Lenox Globe, nevertheless, Java appears to have the name of "Certina." Perhaps, therefore, the Lenox Globe may be regarded as showing one of the earliest attempts to correct a misunderstanding.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the great nameless island, with its attendant islands, is placed westward instead of south-east of the Malayan peninsula; but Sylvanus, in his Ptolemy of 1511, moves the whole group into its proper position to the southeast, thus giving a somewhat correct view of the geography of that region. Still the delineation of Sylvanus does not appear to have been understood. In fact he made too long and too sudden a stride towards the truth to be followed, though Lelewel, while severely criticising his work, admits that some of his delineations were not equalled for many years after. The Lenox Globe and the Ptolemy of Sylvanus would therefore seem to explain one another. At the same time the maker of the globe, in common with Sylvanus, in forming the outline of what we venture to offer as Australia, appear to have made a certain use of those outlines characteristic of the "Java Major" of Fra Mauro and Behaim, which lay on the east coast of Asia. The maker of the Lenox Globe

may have misunderstood his instructions, and thus pushed Australia into the Indian Ocean. The attention of the designer of the globe may have been directed to the subject by the voyage of Gonnville, who sailed from Honfleur in June, 1503, for the East, and fell upon a great country, not far from the direct route to the Indies, which they called "Southern India." The subject, however, is treated here in the way of suggestion.

Thus far nothing has been said of the general appearance of the globe, though, if it were necessary, many details could be pointed out which indicate its ancient origin. Amongst these might be mentioned the peculiar configuration of the Asiatic coasts, the style of the lettering, the drawing of the ships, and the aspect of the marine monsters. Beyond Newfoundland is a sinking ship, with the figure of a human being in the water, possibly an allusion to the loss of the Portuguese Cortereal.

South of Africa is a grotesque monster, intended for a whale, the creature being delineated with much care. Many curious notions prevailed respecting the denizens of the deep. Hence Arngrim Jonas, in his defence of Iceland (Hakluyt I. 568), believes it necessary to refute what Sebastian Munster said in his *Cosmography*, to the effect that "it sometimes falleth out that Mariners, thinking the Whales to be Islands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning." It would appear as though Milton found his own "*Leviathan*" on the page of Hakluyt, in whose works he had read the treatise signed "Arngrimus Ionus."

This leads to the remark that the author of "*Paradise Lost*" appears no stranger to the old globes and maps, which, in his earlier days as a traveler, he was accustomed to consult. His eye, however, could not have fallen upon the globe which we are discussing, since in that case he might have been deterred from writing of the two polar winds, which

"blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice that stop *the imagined way*
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast ;"

for the imagined way is a clear open sea upon our globe. The globes he looked upon embraced the coast

"Of Norumbega, and the Sameod shore,"
including
"—— cold Estotiland, and south as far
Beneath Magellan ;"

and again, all those central regions where of late "Columbus found the American," girt

" With feather'd cincture, naked else, and wild,
Among the trees on isles and woody shores."

When, however, the maker of the Lenox Globe looked away toward the region now occupied by North America, he saw only a watery waste, in the midst of which the island of "Bacaleos" or Newfoundland, rode like some ship at anchor. He may have heard of the Vinland of the Northmen, but the story of the Cabots had already been locked up in depositories where it was destined to lie too long; while Martyr's map of "Beimeni," or Florida, together with the publications of 1512, 1513, 1515, had not come from the press.

Some of the names appear to have been copied from Ruysch's Map. The word "Getulia" and "Zamor" point to the influence of the Goths and Moors in Africa, while "Paludes Nile" show that, in common with the geographers of that period, the globe-maker had anticipated the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley. Some of the names are misspelled; among them, Libia Interioir.

In Asia the Himalayan range, anciently known as "Imaus," had its influence upon the globe-maker's geography, who indicates "Schite extraianivm" for "Scythia extra Imaum." He also puts "Simarum Situs" on the border of the Gulf of the Ganges, where "Sinarum Situs" is put by Ruysch, "Sinarum," like "Serica," or silk, being a name applied to China, which on the globe is called East India. In this region, near the equatorial line, is seen "Hc Synt Dracones," or here are the Dagroians, described by Marco Polo as living in the Kingdom of "Dagroian." These people, as once charged against the Irish, feasted upon the dead and picked their bones. (B. II. c. 14, Ramusio's ed.) "Loac" is the "Locac" of Marco Polo (B. III. c. 8; Yule II. 258), and "Seilan" is the Borneo of our day, the former name having been taken from its proper place near India to make room for "Taprobana," which was often applied to Sumatra. In Northern India is "Sachavvm Regno," the sugar region described in the Ptolemy of Patavino (1596, p. 262). Near Persia is "Carmenis," the "Kermann" of Marco Polo, who does not refer to the neighboring "Calicut," or Calcutta. (B. I. c. 18.)

"Moabio" appears to be the "Maabar" of Marco Polo (III. 16), who says that in all this Province "there is never a Tailor to cut a coat or stitch it," for the very good reason that "every body goes naked." The globe-maker, however, should have placed the province where Polo

and the Nancy Globe place it, on the Coromandel coast. "Carene" appears to be the ancient home of the Mongols mentioned by Marco Polo (I. 18). Yule (I. 102) has a note on these people, some of whom went to Persia.

Turning to America once more, it is found that Japan is called "Zi-pangri," being close to Yucatan, whose well-known bay, first explored in 1518, has a conjectual coast line trending towards the south instead of the west. Cuba, on the other hand, is correctly laid down as an island, being called "Isabel," in honor of Queen Isabella. The names on South America are few. That country is called "TERRA SANCTO CRVCIS," as upon the map of Ruysch, and "MVNDVS NOVVS," a name given by Sandacourt, a Canon of St. Dié, when he framed the title of the Latin version of Vespucci's letter, which described Brasil. But a new name is added, "TERRA DE BRAZIL." The history of this name, however, is not quite so clear as the others, though Navarrete (III. 9) calls attention to Muratori's notice of the fact that "brazil," signifying a red dye-wood, was an exciseable article at Ferrara and Modena in 1193 and 1306. He also quotes from Capmany's "Memorias sobre la antiqua marina, commercio, y artes de Barcelona," which contains references to this wood connected with the years 1221, 1243, 1252 and 1271. Navarrete takes the ground that Covarrubias (Tesoro de la leng. art. brazil) is in error where he says that the name, as applied to this wood, was drawn from America. Brazil appears on a map of the fifteenth century, but the Catalan map of 1375 also shows an island in the Atlantic bearing the name.⁹ Marco Polo (B. III. c. 22) mentions Brazil wood (Yule II. p. 368), and Chaucer says:

" Him needeth not his colour for to deen
With Brazil, ne with grain of Portingale."

It is reasonable, however, to conclude that the name was applied to South America, because the first navigator found there an abundance of desirable dye-wood. Hence, on the Verrazano map, 1529, is also found a similar name, "Verzino."

The name of "America" does not appear upon the globe, which fact, so far as it possesses any significance, favors the belief that the early date assigned to the instrument is correct. The name of America was first proposed in 1507 by Martin Waldseemuller, known under the Greek pseudonym of "Hylacomilus." It appears in his "Cosmographiæ Introductio," where, having called attention to the fact that the old continents were named after women, he observes that the new one

should be called after a man. In the work entitled "*Globus Mundus*," printed at Strasburg, 1509, the suggestion occurs again, *Hylacomilas*, evidently repeating himself. (*Archeologia*, 40, 1. 25.) The name occurs in Schöner's "*Luculentissima*," etc., 1515, but the idea that it was generally used is a mistake. (Santarem's "*Vespucci*," Boston, 1850, p. 155.) The name was first published on a map made by Appianus, 1520, in the work of Camers, but the Ptolemy of 1513, in a legend on the map made by *Hylocomilus* himself, attributes the discovery of the new world to Columbus. This has been alluded to as very curious, though the course pursued by *Hylacomilus* was altogether consistent. The really curious thing remains to be stated, and for the special consideration of those writers who have had so much to say about the ingratitude shown to Columbus by early geographers. The point is this, that though Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, lived until 1539, and for many years was the owner and diligent reader of the "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," which he annotated and rebound, he is not known to have written or spoken a syllable, or to have caused any one else to write so much as a word, expressive of any sense of injustice done to his father by the naming of the New World after Vespucci. Harris, in his *Life of Ferdinand Colomb* (p. 143), also calls attention to the fact that the partizan *Life of the Admiral*, which has been attributed to his son, while exceedingly severe upon those who detracted from the fame of Columbus, does not mention either *Hylacomilus* or his book. It would appear, therefore, that the indignation referred to is, upon the whole, a modern thing, of which the immediate friends of the famous Genoese had no experience.'

Hylocomilus, while admitting the priority of the voyage of Columbus, felt no necessity for naming the New World after one who, in the most pronounced manner, declared that there was no New World to be named. *Hylacomilus* was entirely friendly to Columbus, as was the case with Vespucci in his relations to the Genoese; nevertheless the geographer of St. Dié named the New World after the Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci. It is probable that he had resolved upon this course before Columbus died, while there is nothing whatever to indicate that Vespucci took any action to secure the honor awarded to him, or even that, any more than Columbus, he was solicitous upon the subject. His claims were not understood to conflict with those of Columbus. The Lenox Globe appears to have been made at a time when geographers regarded the matter with unconcern, as neither Columbus nor Vespucci have any honor awarded.

In closing, the following may be suggested as legitimate results of the discussion :

First. The Lenox Globe is the oldest Post-Columbian globe now known to geographers.

Second. It is the oldest Post-Columbian Globe that shows any portion of the New World.¹

Third. It is the oldest instrument of any kind showing the entire Continent of South America.

Fourth. It is the oldest instrument showing that the discoveries of Columbus formed no part of the Asiatic Continent, and that America was absolutely "Mvndvs Novvs," or the New World.²

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ Collier's "Annals of the British Stage" (II. 310), in which the following lines :

"This See is called the great Oocyan ;
So great it is, that never man
Coude tell it seth the worlde began,
Till now within this xx yere
Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this."

And again :

"But this newe lands founde lately,
Ben callyd America, by cause only
Americus dyd furst them fynde."

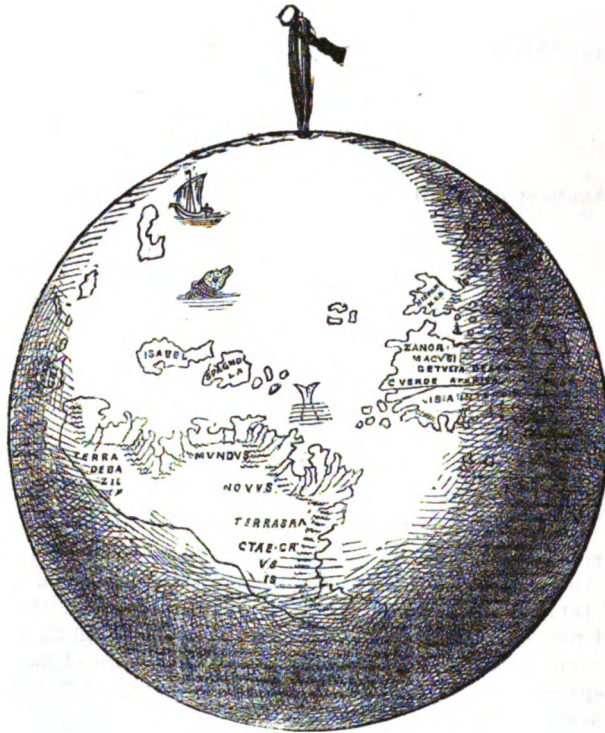
² Lelewel's Atlas. See views that have been entertained in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1866, No. XLIV, p. 26, and 1867, No. XLVII, p. 7.

³ Humboldt maintains that Vespucci, equally with Columbus, believed that the land discovered formed a part of Asia. He says that three times in his second voyage Vespucci calls the country "terra del Asia," but in the third voyage calls it "un' altro mondo" and "Mondo nuovo." To break the force of this, Humboldt refers to the fact that Cadamosto calls the west coast of Africa "Altro mondo." This, however, he confesses is a mere adaptation of the old classic use, the *alter orbis* of Pomponius, Mela and Strabo. He then shifts the argument, and shows that Peter Martyr in 1493-4, while speaking of the "novis orbis," did not recognize its separation from Asia, and that this use was long continued. He forgets, however, that Martyr describes South America as land never known by the ancients. (*Examen Critique* V. 182). For Humboldt's vindication of Vespucci against Schöner (Nuremberg, 1532), see *Cosmos* II. 676.

⁴ The author does not admit that the regions beyond the Atlantic were never reflected on a pre-Columbian globe.

⁵ The Viscount Santarem (*Researches respecting Vespucci*, p. 154) has taken the ground, as well as some others, that the map of Hylocomilus, in the Ptolemy of 1513, was the work of Columbus. This map shows the separation of America from Asia, but we believe that the Lenox Globe is earlier. The separation, however, on the map in question proves that it could not have been the work of Columbus, as it has been shown repeatedly that Columbus died in the belief

that there was no separation. The Genoese, at the end of Cuba, on his second voyage, required his companions to declare on oath that Cuba was not an island, the person maintaining the contrary being liable to a fine of ten thousand maravedis, and to have his tongue cut out. (Navarrete II. 145.) Pinzon on the first voyage "understood Cuba to be a city, and that the land here was a continent of great size, which extended far to the north" (First Voyage of Columbus, Boston, 1827, p. 68). The map of 1513 would seem rather to reflect the ideas of Pinzon, as it extends to 55° N. It has invariably been used by map-makers to represent the coast of North America, whatever may have been its *origin*.



THE LENOX GLOBE

THE OLD STONE MILL AT NEWPORT

CONSTRUCTION VERSUS THEORY

"The stones have voices and the walls do live"

The student of history, the architect and the engineer have alike endeavored to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the "Old Stone Mill" at Newport, to establish the date of its erection and the purpose for which it was designed. One attempts to prove with many ingenious argument that this gray and time-worn tower—a perfect specimen of early Norman architecture—is a ruined Baptistery, which owes its origin to the roving followers of Lief Erickson; another holds that it was erected in the latter part of the seventeenth century by English colonists for the utilitarian purpose of grinding Indian corn. The latest contribution to "Old Mill" literature is from the pen of the late Mr. R. G. Hatfield, President of the New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects. In an able paper, published in the March number of Scribner's Magazine [1879], he takes the ground that the "Old Mill" was erected in the early part of the eleventh century by Northmen, the founders of the Vinland colony. His argument is supported by an interesting account of the wanderings of the Vikings, with illustrations of religious edifices erected by them in various parts of Europe, and a section of the "Old Mill" restored, based upon the Baptistery of Asti.

To these records of history no one can take exception, for they are too well authenticated to admit of doubt. The Northmen were Christians, and roamed the world over, leaving behind them castles, monasteries, churches and baptisteries, with well-defined architectural details. Their edifices, as Mr. Hatfield remarks, are in all cases similar in proportion and construction to the "Old Mill" at Newport, and at first glance it seems highly probable that the dates and builders were the same. There are, however, details in the construction of the "Old Mill" which seem to have escaped the attention of all who have measured it and have written upon the subject. These points I shall endeavor to make clear by the accompanying illustrations, which have been prepared upon the ground from measurements carefully taken and verified. The sketches show the form and position of every prominent stone, and are drawn to scales for comparison. So far as I am aware no such complete survey has yet been published. To the measured

drawings are added sketches of the Leamington or Chesterton mill, and several buildings of colonial date, presenting analogous construction. This survey was made in October, 1878, and was commenced with a firm belief in the old and pleasant traditions so delightfully presented to us by Mr. Hatfield. But, with all an architect's veneration for the works of his predecessors, and a natural desire to assign to the monuments of our country their greatest possible antiquity, I have found myself confronted with constructive features, which point to the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the time when the structure was built, and to Governor Benedict Arnold as the designer as well as owner of the "Old Stone Mill."

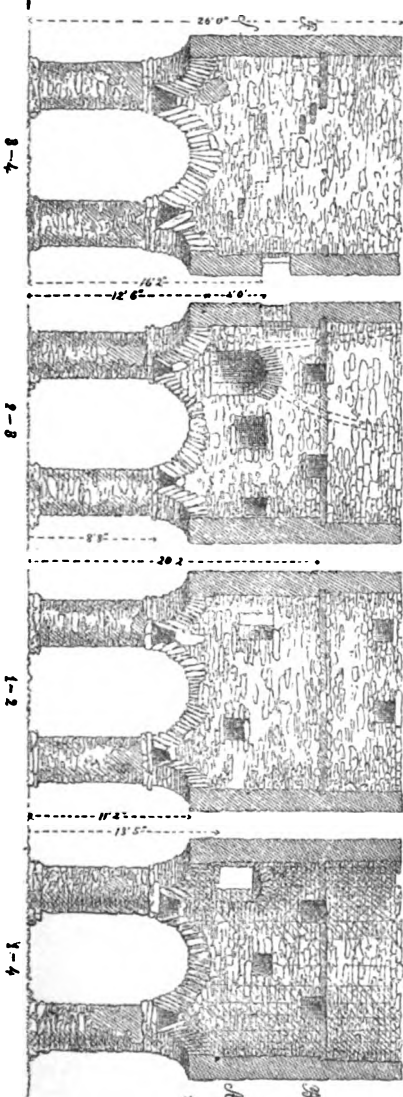
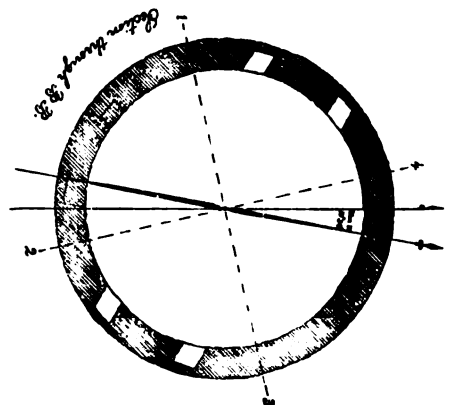
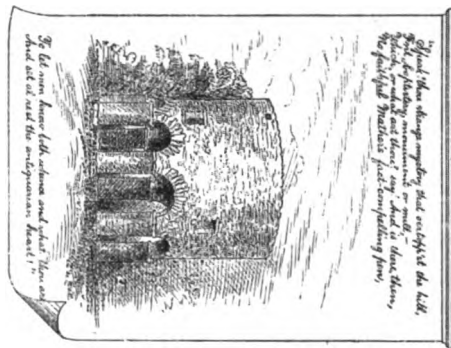
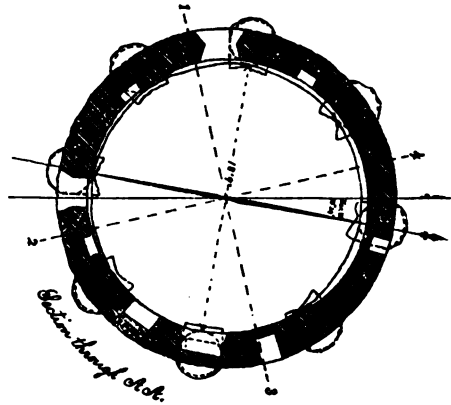
It is generally admitted by all who have investigated the subject that there are but two available dates; the colonization of Vinland and the English settlement on Aquidneck. All theories as to the edifice having once been a Norman Baptistery are based upon the supposition that changes have from time to time been made in its interior. It is the object of this paper to show that it would have been difficult to effect such changes, even if they were not practically out of the question. Professor Rafn, after assigning the eleventh century as the date of erection, adds: "That this building could not have been erected for a windmill, is what an architect will easily discern." That he still had doubts upon the subject is however manifest, for in a letter, dated January 6th, 1849, he writes: "It is difficult, however, without being on the spot to offer any decided opinion as to the period to which the structure itself is to be referred, nor has any one here ventured to do so. Here in the North no windmills occur of this construction, and a gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge in the progressive history of the arts, and who has traveled much in Europe, has declared *that he never met with any such.*"

The alterations generally in question are the fireplace and the windows. These are claimed as late additions, made by English colonists to fit the ancient edifice for their own uses. The first floor over the arches has also been claimed as an addition, but I have never seen any allusion to a *second floor and staircase*, of which there are undeniable evidences. These statements I will now attempt to verify.

Was the fireplace introduced into the Norman Baptistery by English colonists? The fireplace is directly over one of the piers, and its construction exhibits careful workmanship. The stones are laid up smoothly, and fit together closely, in marked contrast to the rest of the interior. The hearth—a flat slab of slate, six inches thick—is built in

under the splayed jambs several inches at each end ; the opening is finished with a segmental arch on the face, and has a flat roof, one foot above the crown of the arch. This roof is made of flat slate stones, laid vertically with the axis of the wall ; at each end is a flue five inches by eight inches, an unusual form of construction. The north flue runs up nearly vertical, while the other flue curves off easily to the south for some distance, and then turns up with an inclination still to the south. Both flues open out on the face of the wall about ten inches below the top, and they are each covered with a large stone, evidently to protect the wooden plate of the roof. The north flue shows no evidence of pargetting or plastering, but the south is still perfectly parged, the mortar being identical with that used in the construction of the piers. The curves are neatly rounded, and the flues are of a full and even area throughout. The wall around the fireplace is thicker than in other parts of the building, and gradually diminishes at the north of opening, where is situated the well-hole of stairs, to be described. In breaking out the old walls to insert a fireplace after the building had stood for centuries, it would have been impossible to adjust the back, jambs and roof with such nicety, and without showing jagged and broken stones. It would also have been impossible to have constructed the two flues, particularly the south one, or to have parged them with such care. And is it not more than probable that in making such a radical change the artificers would have been satisfied with *one* flue instead of two, particularly as the additional flue was of more than questionable advantage.

The next point in question is the windows. Are they the result of alterations? At first sight they appear to be so, for they present the only anomalous features in the building, their position having been established without regard to the intercolumniation. This is the more remarkable in that every other part of the building is accurately spaced on a given plan, from the setting out of the piers on the true cardinal points of the compass to the heights and curves of arches, and the placing of piers outside the axis of the wall. Would such a departure from symmetry in the disposition of windows be likely in the original design? Let us study the construction as shown in the illustrations. The reveals of windows are splayed both ways, leaving a square jamb, four inches wide in the centre. The sills are made of two flat stones, laid four inches apart, corresponding with the jambs ; the edges of these sills toward the centre are *square cut* the whole length, and terminate in mortises, four inches square and three and one-half inches



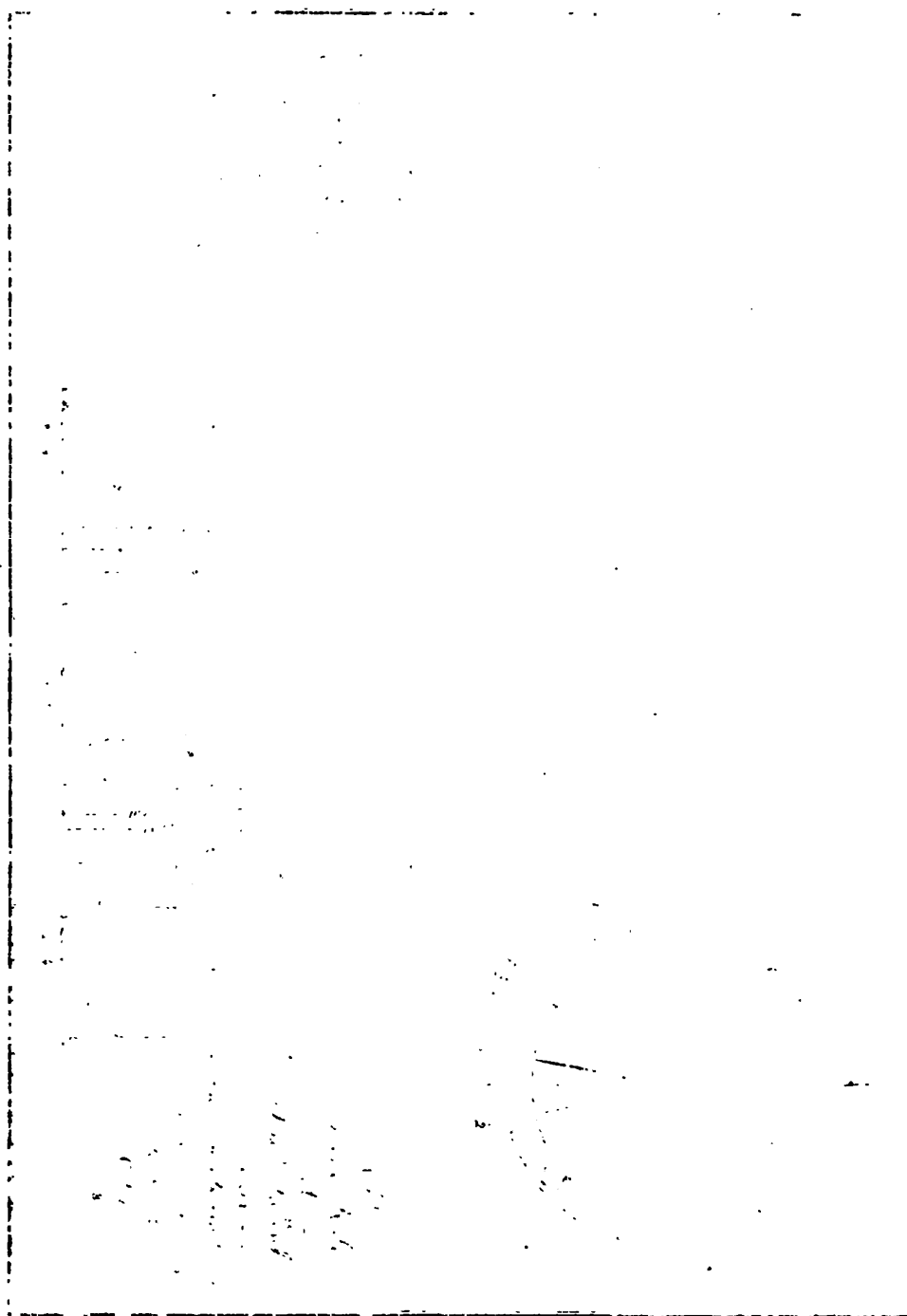
Old
Stone Mill
— at —
Newport, R. I.
— from —
measurements made by
Gen. W. H. Adams, Junr.,
Architect,
Oct. 19,
1872.

deep, sunk in the jambs, evidently to receive the wooden sill. The outer edges of these sills are broken and ragged, and a large part of the inner ones have disappeared. The lintels are made in the same manner. One of the windows shows a lintel on the outer face, the inner being finished with a segmental arch. The other window shows an inner lintel made of *two* stones, the vertical joint being near the centre of the opening. In both cases a space of four inches is left for wooden frame.

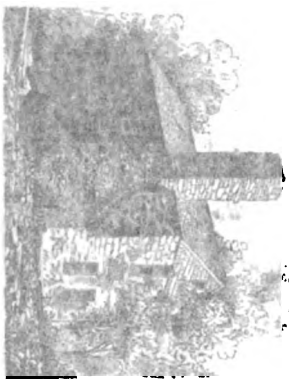
To make these changes was certainly not impossible, but they seem hardly probable. Had the stones of the wall been removed, the wooden frames set in place, and the wall rebuilt around them, the mortises could scarcely have been plastered all over smoothly on the inside, as they still remain. Other openings have been cut in the wall, but they are evidently of modern origin and of no importance in this connection.

The two floors come next in order. The lower floor, as is evident from the angles taken by the mortises over caps of piers, was constructed as shown in the sketch. The frame was made of heavy timber, not less than ten inches square, as indicated by one of the mortises still perfect and plastered. Above these "summers" other beams were laid, and over them heavy planking, bringing the level of the floor up to the under-side of the hearth, and above the crowns of the arches.

To carry the second floor, the increased thickness of wall for fireplace is maintained around two-thirds of the building, and to the height of twenty feet and two inches from the ground. The remainder of the wall is carried up of one thickness to the top. Here was the staircase, as indicated by holes left to receive the ends of treads, and as shown on the interior elevation to the north of fireplace. Above the twenty feet two inches, the wall is carried up of the same section as in the well-hole. This arrangement leaves an offset of about six inches. A running mortise, six inches deep and six inches high, follows along the top of the offset to its termination in the well-hole. This mortise received the smaller beams. The floor was probably framed as shown in the section, leaving an opening for stairs. The angles of the two "summers," supporting this floor in the centre, are clearly indicated by the angles of the large mortises shown on section B B. This second floor probably remained in place until it rotted away and fell of its own weight, the tops and bottoms of the mortises being broken out by the leverage of the beams. The running mortise is capped with carefully selected stones, square and flat on the under side. This disposition of the framing gave a height of seven feet between first floor and the under side of "summers." The construction of these floors and the staircase—the outline



1870

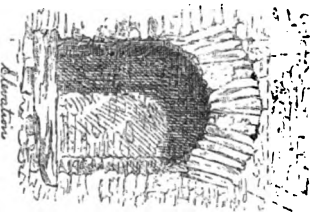


1st rank of invasion

And of course.

1911

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Stone arch.

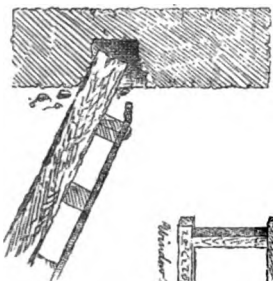


Stone arch.

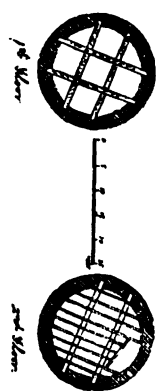
Details of Shipham.



Well of Shipham.

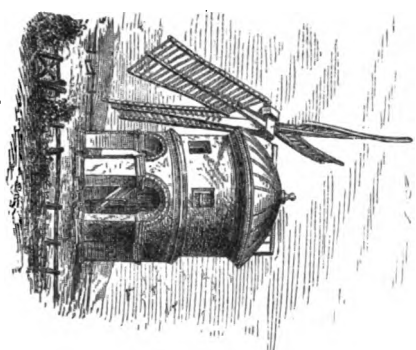


Well of Shipham.



1st View

2nd View



*Stone arch mill.
built 1822.*

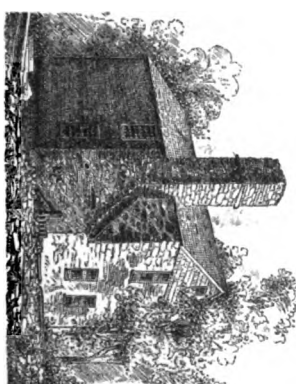
*Details illustrating the construction of
— the Old Stone Mill —
— at Newbury, N. H. —*



Stone arch mill.



Details of Shipham.



House on Shipham Island.

of which is traced on the interior elevation—seems to be conclusive evidence that the ruined tower was not a Baptistery, but that it owes its origin to the English colonists.

Let us now compare the construction of the "Old Mill" with that of the mill at Leamington or Chesterton, England. This mill, designed by Inigo Jones, was erected in the year 1632, and is here illustrated by a sketch taken from the Penny Magazine. The theory that this mill furnished the model or *motif* for the Newport structure was considered by Mr. Hatfield as untenable, for the following reasons: The Newport tower has eight arches and round piers, the latter placed upon the cardinal points of the compass and outside the axis of the wall. The Leamington mill has but six arches, with square piers, placed—as is generally supposed—directly under the axis of the superstructure. The construction employed at Newport is random rubble, while the Leamington mill is built of cut stone. I can give no satisfactory reason for the adoption of eight arches instead of six, unless the number was fixed by the compass, to be a perpetual record of the cardinal points, based upon an accurate survey. Such a disposition is not improbable, as the mill stands upon the crown of a ledge of rock at a level of eighty-four feet above the sea, and near the summit of the ridge, which, running north and south through the centre of the island, rises gradually from the water on either side. Thus situated, the tower became naturally the most important edifice on the island, and a land-mark visible for several miles.

The other differences may be more easily accounted for. The Leamington mill was built in highly civilized England; materials of good quality were abundant, with skilled labor for cutting and fitting together stone work, enriched with carved mouldings and accurately jointed voussoirs. It was erected under the eye of Inigo Jones, and the result was the conversion of a simply utilitarian building into an artistic edifice.

The colonies at that time were a vast wilderness, with but few mechanics, and only rude appliances for cutting stone. They could lay out their work accurately, and build solidly—for eternity—but that was all. Time with them was a necessary consideration, and the work was rapidly accomplished. But allowing that the colonists had the necessary skill and the will to execute works in cut stone, the *material* was wanting. On Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, there is no stone to be found suitable to cut for face work. The rocks on the island consist of a laminated slate—which splits easily, and makes a strong, but not a

handsome wall—and ledges of gneiss, which yield what is ordinarily known as “Rocky Farm Stone.” This stone, of good color and very hard, is exceedingly treacherous under the hammer, and flies in pieces when least expected. It is sometimes roughly squared “bed and build” for a rubble wall, but it is wholly unfit for “six-steel” work, the coarsest ordinary finish for granite. The “Old Mill” is built of these two kinds of stone, used indiscriminately with sea-worn stone from the beach. No other materials, wood excepted, could be obtained by the Northmen or by the early English colonists.

The position of the piers—outside the axis of the wall—does find a parallel in the Leamington mill, if the published prints of that building are to be relied upon. At Newport only the piers project; at Leamington both piers and arches project beyond the upper wall—the line of demarkation being emphasized by a moulded string-course. The inner faces of superstructure and piers show a vertical plane as at Newport. The piers, if built of the same section as the wall, would have been too small for strength, and in both cases the builders, desirous of saving all possible room within the circle, resorted to a mode of construction very suitable, as well as highly ornamental, when executed in cut work.

With a rude and intractable material, the Newport masons followed the outline of the Leamington mill, but found it necessary to set back the arches. It was easy for them to cap the exposed tops of piers with slabs of slate, roughly beveled on the upper side, but had they set the arches out on the same plane, they must have carried a drip-course of cut stone around the building as a protection against disintegration under the action of frost and rain. In both cases the placing of the superstructure upon a circle of open arches had the advantage of giving additional power to the sails, by preventing the wind from backing against a dead wall.

Why should the colonists adopt the Leamington mill as a model? The Leamington mill was erected in the year 1632, about five miles from the town of the same name. Governor Benedict Arnold was at that time in England, and resided in Warwickshire, not far from the site of the mill. He, moreover, mentions in his will a farm, which he calls his *Leamington* farm. In 1663 the Rhode Island colonists built their first windmill, as we gather from Peter Easton's diary; and August 28, 1675, he notes in the same diary: “On Saturday night, forty years after the great storm in 1635, came much the like storm, *blew down our wind-mill and did much harm.*” This first mill was of wood.

Governor Arnold made his will December 20th, 1677, a period of two years and four months after the gale which destroyed the first mill. During that time he may have erected a second and more enduring structure of stone, keeping in mind the model which he had seen at Leamington. He may also have wished to provide a place of safe retreat against his Indian foes, to whom he was obnoxious, owing to disputes growing out of the titles to some of his lands. He built a sort of fort on the wharf back of his house, and kept guard-boats plying back and forth in front of the town. In 1679 he went to Providence in an armed sloop, for his relations with some of the colonists were far from friendly.

Specimens of mortar taken from the "Old Mill" and other structures of the period—the house built by Governor Henry Bull in 1639, the tombs of Governor Arnold and his wife, and their dwelling house—have been analyzed, and found to be of the same quality, and composed of shell-lime, sand and gravel, with flakes of broken slate pounded fine. In alluding to the house of Governor Arnold, I will add that it stood until after the evacuation of the island by the British troops. One of the "oldest inhabitants" gives the following account of its destruction:

"The chimney and the whole south end were built of rough stone and coarse mortar, and plastered on the outside with the same. The rough stone and coarse mortar were so strongly cemented together that they could not take it down by commencing at the top, without great labor; for that reason the house was first pulled down, then guys were made fast to the top of the chimney and set tight by means of tackles to trees at a distance, to cause it to fall in a direction from the building near, when it was undermined and fell in *one mass*, and was afterwards broken up with sledges, &c."

This solidity of construction furnishes an additional argument in favor of the colonial origin of the mill.

In Mr. Hatfield's section of the "Old Mill Restored" he shows above the aisle roof a clere-story, pierced with eight round arched windows, with deeply splayed sills, allowing the entering light to take its mean angle of 45°. If this were the original construction, the height of the wall must have been at least thirty-six feet instead of twenty-six feet, as at present. Now since the date of Governor Arnold's will two hundred years have elapsed, and the tower still stands, a firm and homogeneous mass of stone and mortar. The top is level, and the cap-stones of flues are in their places. Is it likely that in the six hundred years, between the visits of the Northmen and the English occupation of the

island, ten feet of the tower disappeared—was removed or fell of itself? It would hardly seem so. Had the colonists found it of full height, with numerous windows scientifically constructed, is it likely that they would have cut it down ten feet, inserted new windows at irregular intervals, and put in floors, stairs, fireplace and flues, all which would have impaired its value as a mill? Thirty-six feet is no more than the usual height of windmills, and their sails have a diameter of from sixty to eighty feet. That the structure was originally plastered or stuccoed is highly probable, as the colonists were accustomed to cover their rough stone work in this way, and we have seen that the same course was followed in building Governor Arnold's house.

The domestic edifices erected by the early English colonists exhibit, in nearly every instance, stone chimneys and gable ends, as already described in connection with the house of Governor Arnold. The sides of these buildings and the ends above the line of roof-plate were of frame construction, made of heavy oak timber rudely squared, put together with tree-nails and boarded with oak, usually at an angle of 45°, thus making of every board a separate brace. The boarding was covered with coarse stucco, or split shingles, put on with wrought nails. Many of these venerable houses still remain, their sturdy timbers and thick walls seeming to defy the ravages of time. The two selected for illustration are good examples of their class, and each has had an eventful history, with quaint legends of its own. The first was erected by Governor Henry Bull in the year 1639. Until within a few months it stood unaltered, but since then the "restorer" has been at work, and one-half of the house has been modernized. The gable ends and the rear still remain as originally built; the stone, similar to that in the "Old Mill," is laid up in the same rough and random manner. The second example is from the island of Conanicut, opposite Newport. The date of its erection is not definitely known. A relic of the past, with huge chimney and picturesque outline, it nestles among the trees, quaint, old and time-worn. But old as it is, it is still tenantable, and may do good service for many years.

One other detail in the construction of the "Old Mill" is worthy of notice. The disposition of the eight piers upon the true cardinal points of the compass is a feature that must have been the result of deliberate thought and careful measurement. Can we by chance get a clue to the date of erection from this fact? By referring to section A A, it will be seen that the true north bisects one of the piers. The variation of the needle, taken from reliable modern maps, is 10° 34' west.

Now did the founders of the edifice find the magnetic north, and then calculate the variation to discover the true north, or was the "Mill" erected at some period of time when there happened to be no variation of the needle? This problem I am not able to solve, and I only allude to it here hoping that some scientific investigator may be able to throw light upon the subject, if only to establish the date of the erection of the "Old Stone Mill."

GEORGE C. MASON, JR.

A JUSTIFICATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN

I regret to see an injustice done to the memory of one who made as great sacrifices for the cause of American liberty and national independence as any other general officer of the Continental army. I allude to General Sullivan. The following considerations show that the charges in the July number [1879], in the article on the French in Rhode Island, imputing unnecessary delay to General Sullivan in 1778 are not just.

It is there stated (III. 390) "that the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements," and the golden opportunity lost between the 29th of July (when D'Estaing arrived with his fleet off Newport) and the 9th of August (when the French army disembarked on Conanicut, and reembarked, and the Americans crossed on to the island). I have in my possession the correspondence of the general officers connected with the expedition, and have studied it carefully in preparation of a paper on the siege of Newport, read in 1875-1876 before the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. I shall be glad to submit this correspondence to any student of our revolutionary history who takes an interest in the subject. I am confident that no one familiar with this, the best evidence of what occurred, will discover in it the shadow of foundation for the charge of needless delay, but on the contrary every proof of dispatch. These papers came into my possession from the grandsons of General Sullivan, and I feel it my duty, and shall be doubtless justified in the public mind, to defend his reputation when unjustly assailed.

When D'Estaing arrived off New York a joint attack was intended by his fleet and the army of Washington on that city. But this not proving practicable, on the 20th of July Hamilton wrote Washington that D'Estaing had decided for Newport. By the 23d, Sullivan, apprised of this intention, began his preparations. A few weeks earlier he had informed Congress that the 1,500 men under his command were scattered from Point Judith to Seconnet Point, sixty miles. As on the 17th of July the garrison of Newport had been reenforced to 7,000 veterans, at least double that number, according to military rules, were needed for the attack, and to form part of this force there were 4,000 French soldiers in the fleet. Washington sent him about 2,000 men from the army

which fought at Monmouth. The greater part of his army Sullivan had to collect from their farms and workshops throughout New England or from their business pursuits in its large towns. Supplies for twenty thousand men, including the French soldiers and sailors, were to be gathered, boats, guns and ammunition to be provided; and D'Estaing looked to him for whatever he needed, after his long voyage aboard his ships.

The army was thus not only to be largely created, but organized, drilled and disciplined; the officers in many instances being as inexperienced as their men. As to the battle of Butts' Hill on the 29th of August, of the 5,000 who then composed the army, only 1,500 had been under fire, and these must have consisted of the Continentals sent by Washington; it will readily be conjectured how difficult was the task. These preparatory movements and arrangements took time; and by the 8th of August—when the arrival of a considerable portion of his troops from Boston rendered it prudent to cross on to the island, and the withdrawal of the two regiments of the enemy posted at Butts' Hill permitted the Americans to cross unopposed, to have gathered together an army of ten thousand men in two weeks from such distances, and to have organized out of such material, militia and volunteers, fit for service, a force competent to cope with seven thousand veterans, strongly entrenched, deserves praise, and not blame.

It should be remembered that the arrival of the English fleet from Europe or the storm were not events for calculation. The conjuncture demanded dispatch, but not precipitation. Had Sullivan crossed on to the island with an inferior force and insufficient supplies, and encountered disasters, he would have been more reasonably obnoxious to criticism. The requirements of his responsible command were zeal, activity and prudence, and whoever reads the letters which were passing in those eventful days, urging forward troops and supplies, and upon other matters—forty or fifty in French—will be convinced that they were not wanting in the General-in-Chief or in his coadjutors; and he had with him the Greenes, Varnum and Cornell, and much of the time Lafayette likewise.

Before the arrival of the troops from Boston and the evacuation by the enemy of the lines on Butts' Hill on the 8th of August, the design had been for the Americans to cross at Fogland Ferry, and the Provence and Engageante, under Preville, were ordered while the troops were approaching to join the Alc  me and Aimable, under St. Cosme, stationed there since the 30th of July to protect the crossing. Opposition

was expected, and due precautions taken, requiring time, as also preconcerted arrangements, as the French were to have landed simultaneously on the west shore of the island, either near Dyer's Island or between it and Coddington Cove, and thus cut off the two regiments at Butts' Hill. Wind and its direction were important elements for consideration, as the movements depended on support from the fleet. Up to the 9th all had gone prosperously, no time had been lost; neither the people who, in their exhausted condition, sent so large a force into the field; neither officers nor men, French nor Americans, were chargeable with procrastination. They had all done marvellously well. The appearance of the English fleet, the storm, were beyond their control. The spirit of detraction must travel far to find fault with any one. Mr. Stevens relies, I presume, on what he considers good authority for his statement, but I am sure on review of the actual circumstances he will be just to General Sullivan, and at least allow those who have read the charge to consider the reasons which go to disprove it. This charge of delay I have not seen before.* All other charges have been shown to be groundless, and I am sure if the correspondence were published, there would be an end to the fault finding with one who was faithful to the cause, and lost his health and a large part of his means in the contest.

I also submit to the readers the enclosed portions of the General Orders of the 24th and 26th of August, that they may judge for themselves if the opinion alluded to on page 392 of the Magazine, when taken in connection with the occasion and the context, was just or well grounded. It was very prudent and reasonable that Washington and Greene should "disavow" what seemed to be an imputation on the good faith of our allies, who, after inducing such costly preparations, abandoned our army in a position of such great danger and probable humiliation. Unless compelled by greater disasters than they seemed to have sustained on their return on the 20th, in the pursuit of the English fleet, from the storm or partial engagements, they certainly were under obligation to incur some risk, and if they had tarried forty-eight hours Newport would have fallen. Sullivan no doubt, as a good officer and patriot, was willing to be sacrificed to prevent any unpleasantness endangering the alliance and cooperation of the French, but it does not necessarily follow that his language in the orders of the 24th was indiscreet or unseasonable. It certainly did not prevent a good understanding before the week was over with D'Estaing. Considering what is now known of the state of feeling in the fleet, the irritations existing between the Admiral and his officers, reported by Greene, should be taken into account.

Towards the close of the General Orders of August 24th is the passage to which exception has been taken by the article. It reads: "The General cannot help lamenting the sudden and unexpected departure of the French fleet, as he finds it has a tendency to discourage some, who placed great dependence upon its assistance, though he by no means supposes that the army, or any part of it, is the least endangered by the movement. The enemy now on the island are far inferior in numbers to this army, and are so sensible of their inferiority that nothing can tempt them to action. This superiority we shall maintain, so long as the spirit and ardor of Americans continue to be the same as in the beginning of this enterprize, unless the enemy should receive a strong reenforcement. This is the only event which can oblige us to abandon any part of the island we are now possessed of, and this event cannot take place in an instant. A considerable time will be required for a fleet to enter the harbor, come to anchor, and land a body of men sufficient to make the number of the enemy equal to ours. The General assures the army that he has taken into consideration every event that can possibly happen, and has guarded in such a manner that in case of the most disagreeable, a retreat, it can be made with the greatest safety. It is with grief and astonishment he finds large numbers of volunteers are about to quit the island at this time, and give to America a lasting proof of their want of firmness and bravery. The approaches to the enemy's line are to be carried on with the greatest despatch. The General is fully sensible of the value the brave officers and soldiers and citizens are to America, and he is determined that no rash steps shall make a sacrifice of them. At the same time he wishes them to place a proper confidence in him as their commander-in-chief, whose business it is to attend to their safety. Yet he hopes Americans will prove by the event able to procure that by their own arms which their allies refuse them assistance in obtaining."

It having been suggested that the last sentence of this General Order might give umbrage to the unreasonable susceptibilities of the French General and his officers, General Sullivan, not that he conceived any reparation was due, for the withdrawal of the fleet at such a time warranted an expression of warmth, and the language used was that best adapted to keep up the spirit of his troops, on which their safety depended, but still not disposed to endanger the good understanding between the two countries, endeavored the day but one after to do away any impression that might have that tendency.

On the 26th August he says in his General Orders: "That having secured his heavy cannon and provided a safe and easy retreat in case of misfortune, he thinks proper to inform the army that he has the strongest reason to expect that before reenforcements arrive to oblige us to quit our present position, that the French fleet will return to cooperate with us in the reduction of the island. It having been supposed by some persons that by the orders of the 24th instant the commander-in-chief meant to intimate that the departure of the French fleet was owing to a fixed determination not to assist in the enterprise, and as the General would not wish to give the least color for ungenerous and illiberal minds to make such unfair interpretations, he thinks it necessary to say that he could not be acquainted with the Admiral's orders, or determine whether the removal of the French fleet was absolutely necessary. He, however, hopes that their speedy return will show their attention and regard for the alliance formed between us, and add to the obligations which the Americans are already under to the French nation. However mortifying the departure of the French fleet was to us at such a time of expectation, we ought not too suddenly to censure the movement, or for an act of any kind to forget the aid and protection which has been afforded us by the French since the commencement of the present contest. He regrets the numbers of militia or volunteers whose time is up who are going off, and begs those who can to stay a few days longer."

This was on Wednesday, and on Friday, the 28th, 3,000 of the volunteers and militia having gone home, leaving his force less than the British behind their entrenchments, and informed by Washington that reenforcements to the garrison (who—about 4,000—actually arrived on Monday, the 31st) were on their way from New York, he moved his army Tuesday night in good order eleven miles to Butts' Hill, and on Saturday took place what Lafayette pronounced the best fought battle of the war. The numbers on either side were equal, about 5,000, and it ended by a charge of the light corps and a regiment under Jackson from Massachusetts, under Colonel Livingston, ordered by Sullivan, which drove the British to their lines on Quaker Hill at the point of the bayonet; and on the night of the 30th the Americans left the island without loss, unopposed.

THOMAS C. AMORY

* "On the eighth, the French fleet, which a whim of Sullivan had detained for ten days in the offing, ran past the British batteries into the harbor of Newport." *Bancroft's History of the United States*, Vol. X., p. 147, Boston, 1874.

EDITOR.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL MEREDITH

FIRST TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES

In the noble eulogy on Emanuel Swedenborg, delivered by Mr. Samuel Sandel, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, at the request of that body, in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, on the 7th of October, 1772, occur these words:

"Nature and art form the ornaments of the earth; birth and education form those of the human race. A fruit-seed does not always produce a tree which yields as excellent fruit as that which produced it; which often is owing to the modifications effected in the tree by art, which occasion a difference in its products, but do not at all alter its nature. Experience supplies us with a great many similar instances in our species. But it would be hazarding a paradox were we to attempt to determine how far certain virtues are hereditary in families, or are introduced into them by education. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied, that the advantage of having sprung from a respectable and virtuous family, inspires a man with confidence, when he is conscious that he does not disgrace his descent. In every condition, it is a real advantage to be born in a family which has been, for a long time, the abode of honor and virtue, and a nursery of citizens every way useful to the country."

To such a family belonged the subject of this sketch. The son of a man, himself distinguished for his virtue, integrity and patriotism, a friend of liberty and a benefactor of his country, we are not surprised to find Samuel Meredith, at an early day, openly advocating the cause of the colonies.

Reese Meredith, the father, was a native of Leominster, Herefordshire, where he was born in 1708. His father, John Meredith, a woollen merchant of that town, was the youngest son of "Richard Meredith of Presteigne, Gentleman," living in 1673, the representative of the ancient line of "Merediths of Radnorshire," to whom Queen Elizabeth granted the right to bear arms in 1572, viz: "Argent, a lion rampant, sable, collared and chained, or; Crest, a demi-lion, rampant, sable, collared and changed, or." Reese Meredith was educated at Oxford, and at his father's death, in 1729, came to this country, landing in Philadel-

phia in February, 1730, where he entered the counting house of John Carpenter, second son of the well-known Samuel Carpenter, Member of the Provincial Council, Treasurer of the Province, and one of the two Lieutenant-Governors appointed by Penn to assist Markham in the government of the Province; the commission bears date September 24, 1694, and was issued to John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter. In 1738 Mr. Meredith married his employer's daughter, Martha, and was taken into partnership with his father-in-law, and on his death succeeded to the business. He lost his wife August 26, 1769; he survived her nine years, dying on the 14th of November, 1778. During the darkest hours of the revolution Mr. Meredith's faith in the ultimate success of the colonies never wavered; and when the patriots were perishing from cold and hunger, at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-78, he generously gave, from his ample means, the munificent sum of £5,000 to feed and clothe the starving soldiers. George Clymer and Colonel Henry Hill, names well known to the students of American history, were his sons-in-law.

Samuel Meredith, the son, was born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1741, in his father's mansion, which stood on the corner of Second and Walnut streets. The house was built by his great-grandfather, Samuel Carpenter, soon after the settlement of the city. When about fourteen years of age he entered the academy of Dr. Robert Allison, of Philadelphia, a noted Presbyterian divine, where he remained some four years. Upon leaving the academy he immediately went into his father's counting house, and devoted himself to learning mercantile business. March 22d, 1765, George Clymer married his sister, Elizabeth Meredith, and in April the two young men were admitted as partners in the business, the firm name becoming "Meredith & Sons." It so continued until 1778, after which it was "Meredith & Clymer," until 1782, when it was dissolved. November 7th, 1765, all three of the firm signed the "Non-Importation Resolutions," the great forerunner of the "Declaration of '76." About this time Mr. Meredith began to take a deep interest in the political affairs of the day. He was an earnest advocate of the principles of the Whig party, and served a term or two in the General Assembly. On the 19th of May, 1772, he was united in marriage, at the Arch street Meeting House (Friends), to Margaret, daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, one of Philadelphia's leading surgeons, and a member of the Governor's Council. They enjoyed a happy married life of forty-five years, and were blessed with six children. On the 20th of May, 1774, Mr. Meredith attended the first of the meetings, held by the

citizens of Philadelphia, to protest against the unjust pretensions and usurpations of Great Britain. On the 18th of June he was present at the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which John Dickenson and Thomas Willing presided, when it was determined to be expedient to issue a call for a Continental Congress. Mr. Meredith was sent, as a deputy from Philadelphia, to the Provincial Convention, held in Independence Hall from the 23d to the 28th of January, 1775. On the 24th of April, 1775, he was one of the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which it was estimated over eight thousand citizens were present. Here it was that the citizens of Philadelphia determined to form battalions for the defence of their lives, liberty and property. One of these battalions, the Third, was officered as follows: John Cadwalader, Colonel; John Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; Thomas Mifflin, Senior Major; Samuel Meredith, Junior Major.

The first appearance of these citizen soldiers was in May, when they marched out to meet the southern delegates to Congress, and escort them into the city; a like compliment was paid to the delegates from the Eastern States a few days later. The third battalion is historically known as the "Silk Stockings," so called from the social standing of its officers and men. Early in 1775 a number of the prominent citizens of Philadelphia, favorable to the cause of independence, organized an association, which they named the "Whig Society." Each member presided in turn for a month. In August, 1775, this honor fell on Major Meredith. The questions discussed were, of course, of a political nature. The society generally met at the "City Tavern." Washington, in July, 1776, requested that the associators be sent to the defence of Amboy. In pursuance of these orders, Colonel John Dickenson with the First battalion, and Colonel John Cadwalader with the Third and the Second, the name of whose Colonel is unknown to us, left Philadelphia on the 12th of July for Amboy, and remained there six weeks. In December, upon Washington's recommendation, the three battalions were consolidated into one brigade of 1,200 men, with Colonel Cadwalader as Brigadier-General. Nixon became Colonel of the third, and Meredith, Lieutenant-Colonel, the Senior Major, Mifflin, having been elected to Congress. They left Philadelphia for Trenton on the 10th. Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated December 13th, 1776, says: "Cadwalader, with the Philadelphia militia, occupies the ground above and below the mouth of the Neshaminy River, as far down as Dunk's Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the Third battalion of Philadelphia."

When Washington planned the attack on Trenton, he arranged for the main army to cross at "McConkey's Ferry," nine miles above Trenton; Dickenson, with the New Jersey Militia, to cross at Yardlyville, four miles above the town; Ewing at the Falls opposite; and Cadwalader at Bristol. Owing to the ice, the main army alone succeeded in crossing. Cadwalader, with a detachment, crossed over at Bristol, but had to return, as his entire force was unable to move. He succeeded, however, in crossing on the 30th, and marched to Lambertown, now South Trenton, on the south side of the Assunpink Creek, and his entire command took an active part in the battle of Princeton on the 3d of January, 1777. The Americans then went into winter quarters at Morristown. Cadwalader's brigade remained there until about February 1st, when they returned to Philadelphia.

In the latter part of January Washington paid a flying visit to Philadelphia, as would appear from the following extract from a letter to Colonel Meredith from his wife, bearing date January 27, 1777: "General Washington invited himself to breakfast with me yesterday; the children were at table, and behaved themselves extremely well. I observed that the General is very grave. I do not wonder at it; a man of his reflection must feel strongly our present unhappy situation. * * * Experience teaches me, my dear husband, that true happiness can alone be found in the bosom of independence." The intimacy between General Washington and the Merediths was one of long standing, and Reese Meredith used to relate the following anecdote as to its origin, which has been handed down to us by successive generations. Says he: "In the fall of 1755 I happened to step into the Coffee House to lunch. While sitting there I noticed a genteel-looking stranger, sitting apart from the rest, reading a paper. I took the liberty of a Friend to approach the young man, and inquired his name and place of residence, and was answered in reply that he was Colonel George Washington of Virginia; that he was here on business for the Governor of Virginia in relation to the Indians. I was highly pleased with the young man's appearance, and invited him home to dine with me on fresh venison." This acquaintance, thus happily begun, lasted through life, and was only broken by the death of Washington in 1799.

April 5, 1777, Colonel Meredith was commissioned Brigadier-General of the Fourth Brigade; June 5th, 1777, John Armstrong was commissioned Major-General, and on the 26th of August James Irvine, Brigadier-General. The four brigades were placed under Armstrong, the Brigadiers ranking as follows: John Cadwalader, First Brigade,

date of commission, December 25, 1776; James Potter, Second Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; Samuel Meredith, Third Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; James Irvine, Fourth Brigade, date of commission, August 26, 1777. In this rank they took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and shared the discomforts of Valley Forge.

General Meredith's military service ended January 9, 1778, when he resigned his commission, and returned to Philadelphia. He was succeeded by his senior Colonel, John Lacey, whose commission dates January 9, 1778. This step was occasioned by his father's ill health, and the continued absence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Clymer, to the great detriment of the business of the firm of Meredith & Sons. General Meredith had taken the oath of allegiance to the new State Government of Pennsylvania, August 7, 1777, and on the 6th of November, 1778, was elected to the Assembly from the city of Philadelphia. He served until October, 1779. He was again elected to the Assembly in November, 1781, and served until October, 1783. In the fall of 1779 he, with George Clymer and Henry Hill, fitted out the sloop-of-war "Mariah," commanded by John Lord, carrying eight guns, and manned by twenty-five men.

In the spring of 1780 he and George Clymer subscribed £5,000 (\$25,000) each to the fund of \$315,000, contributed by ninety-three citizens of Philadelphia, for the support of the army. Mr. Meredith was also a director of the Bank of North America, organized by Robert Morris and others in May, 1781. In August, 1781, he was elected President of the Welsh Society in Philadelphia, which bore the rather high-sounding title of the "Royal Society of Ancient Britons." In 1782 he and Mr. Clymer dissolved partnership. November 26, 1786, he was elected to the Congress of the Confederation and served on the committee, composed of one delegate from each State, which issued the call for the Federal Convention, in pursuance of the recommendation contained in the letter issued by the Annapolis Convention of 1786. General Meredith served until November, 1788 (two terms). August 9, 1789, he was appointed by President Washington Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, but he held the office only six weeks, as appears from the following:

"Journal of the Senate, Friday, September 11, 1789—A message from the President of the United States, which Mr. Lear, his secretary, delivered to the Vice President and withdrew: '*Gentlemen of the*

Senate: I nominate for the department of the Treasury of the United States Alexander Hamilton of New York, Secretary; Nicholas Eveleigh of South Carolina, Comptroller; Samuel Meredith of Pennsylvania, Treasurer; Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut, Auditor; and Joseph Nourse of Pennsylvania, Register; * * * and in case the nomination of Samuel Meredith should meet with the advice and consent of the Senate, I nominate as Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia William McPherson.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

General Meredith entered upon the duties of his office when the Treasury of the country was in a most distressing condition. It required financial ability of the highest order; but Washington well knew the character of the man whom he had selected to fill this most responsible position. He held the office twelve years and six weeks; his annual reports were models of their kind, and always received deserved recognition from the hands of Congress. During his long administration as Treasurer not a single discrepancy marred the entire correctness of his accounts. During the first year he resided in New York in a house on Broadway, opposite the Presidential Mansion. He was on terms of intimacy with Chancellor Livingston, with whom he frequently dined in a "friendly manner." He was also a frequent guest at the table of the first President, as appears by the latter's private journal. He resided in Philadelphia from 1790 to 1800, and in Washington until October 31, 1801, the date of his retirement. He served under Washington and the elder Adams, and seven months under Jefferson; and his chiefs were: Alexander Hamilton, 1789-95; Oliver Wolcott, 1795-1800, and Samuel Dexter, 1800-1802. His retirement was due to ill-health and financial embarrassments, his private affairs having become sadly neglected during his official life; upon it he received the following complimentary letter from Jefferson:

"Monticello, September 4, 1801.

Dear Sir:—I received, yesterday, your favor of August 29th, resigning your office as Treasurer of the United States after the last of October next. I am sorry for the circumstances which dictate the measure to you; but from their nature, and the deliberate consideration of which it seems to be the result, I presume that dissuasives on my part would be without effect. My time in office has not been such as to bring me into intimate insight into the proceedings of the several departments, but I am sure I hazard nothing when I testify

in your favor, that you have conducted yourself with perfect integrity and propriety in the duties of the office you have filled and pray you to be assured of my highest consideration.

Mr. Meredith.

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

General Meredith retired to his estate called "Belmont," situated in Clinton, Mount Pleasant and Preston townships, Wayne County, Pennsylvania. It was some twenty miles in length, and two in breadth, and contained nearly 26,000 acres. He had purchased this tract about 1796, and about 1812 erected a dwelling on it, about a mile from Mount Pleasant, at a cost of \$6,000. Here he spent the remaining sixteen years of his life, superintending the settlement and development of his vast estate. He, with his brother-in-law, George Clymer, from 1774 until 1800 purchased vast tracts of wild land, situated in Bradford, Luzerne, Pike, Schuylkill, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Wayne and Wyoming counties, Pennsylvania; Sullivan and Delaware counties, New York, and in Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky; in all about 500,000 acres.

General Meredith departed this life at "Belmont," on Monday, February 10th, 1817, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; his wife survived him nearly four years, dying September 20th, 1820. They were both buried in the private burial-ground of the family, on the "manor tract." We know of no better personal description of the General than the following, taken from a letter written by the venerable Alvah Norton, of Aldenville, Wayne County, to Dr. Meredith Maxwell, of New York, a great-grandson of the General. It is dated June 30th, 1877. Mr. Norton was then in his eighty-first year.

"Dear Sir:—Received your letter dated June 20th, 1877, concerning General Samuel Meredith. In reply to your first inquiry, I remember an elderly gentleman attired in dress coat and knee-breeches of navy-blue broadcloth; shoes and silken hose; gold buckles at the knee and shoes; buff or white vest; ruffled shirt front and ruffles at the wrist falling over his delicate hands; hair powdered and worn in a queue, tied with a ribbon the color of his coat. In height about five feet ten inches, straight as an arrow, spare in flesh. A well-balanced head, bright, restless, light-blue eyes under a well-developed forehead, an aquiline nose, a firm mouth and decided chin. I have often seen him walking the porch of his residence, hands linked behind him, with nervous movements, oftentimes thinking aloud. There hung (in the old days), in the parlor at Belmont, a portrait of him, taken, I judge, about the age of forty, which was considered by the family to be an excellent likeness; * * * Of

his habits of life I may not be a competent judge; should think he kept as closely to his city habits as change to country life would permit. * * * He kept a colored housekeeper named Rachael who, I think, came with the family from Philadelphia. She always, after his death, insisted that 'Old Massa' visited the sleeping-rooms, after the occupants were asleep, to see if the lights were out—an invariable habit of his as long as he lived. * * * His daughters were expected to take as much care of their personal appearance as though living in Philadelphia. They were always in full dress at dinner."

Three hours were occupied at the dinner-table daily, and the utmost ceremony observed.

On the gentle declivity of the Moosic, overlooking the lovely valley of the Lackawaxen, lie the remains of the beloved friend of Washington and the first Treasurer of the Union; by his side sleeps his noble and accomplished wife. A movement was set on foot July 4, 1877, for the erection of a monument to mark the site. Hon. Edward Overton, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, has introduced a joint resolution in the House at Washington for an appropriation of \$10,000.

Of General Meredith's issue, we shall make slight mention of three. His only son, Thomas Meredith, was a lawyer by profession; held the commission of Major during the war of 1812; served as Prothonotary, Clerk of Courts, Recorder and Register for Wayne county, 1821-30, and was largely interested in the development of the Lackawanna coal-fields. He opened the first mines in Carbondale in 1824, obtained a charter, and had the route surveyed for a railroad from Scranton to Great Bend. The route is now used by the northern division of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Rail Road. He died at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1855, aged 76.

General Meredith's eldest daughter, Martha, married Hon. John Read, Agent-General of the United States for British Debts, member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and Senate, City Solicitor of Philadelphia, and President of the Philadelphia Bank, 1819-41. Their son was the late Hon. John Meredith Read, LL.D., member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania and Justice of the Supreme Court, Pennsylvania, 1858-72; Chief Justice 1872-73; and father of General John Meredith Read, LL.D., F. S. A., M. R. I. A., Regent of Cornell University, Adjutant-General of the State of New York, Consul-General to Paris, 1869-73, Minister and Chargé d'Affaires to Athens, 1873-79. General Meredith's third daughter, Anne,

married Samuel Dickenson, Esq., of Trenton, father of Philemon Dickenson, Esq., President of the Trenton Banking Co., 1832-79, United States Pension Agent for many years, member of the New Jersey Constitutional Commission, 1873, and Chairman Board of Managers of the State Sinking Fund, a Mason of high rank, an honorary member of the New Jersey Historical Society and of the State Society of the Cincinnati, and also of Colonel Samuel Dickenson's First New Jersey Militia, and Captain of Company E, Tenth U. S. Infantry during the Mexican war.

WHARTON DICKENSON

PERSONAL NARRATIVE
OF THE SERVICES OF LIEUT.
JOHN SHREVE

OF THE NEW JERSEY LINE OF THE CON-
TINENTAL ARMY

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—John Shreve, the writer of the following narrative, was born April 8th, 1762, in Mansfield, Burlington county, New Jersey. He was the son of Colonel Israel Shreve, who commanded the Second New Jersey Regiment, "Continental Line," which was in active service during the war of the Revolution. John was made Ensign in 1776, and was appointed Lieutenant in July, 1777, in which capacity he served until he left the army in 1781. He was but thirteen years of age when he entered the army.

S. H. SHREVE

Soon after the battle on Bunker's (or Breed's) Hill, near Boston, in the province of Massachusetts, Congress, composed of delegates chosen in the 13 United Colonies, ordered four regiments to be raised in New Jersey. William Maxwell was appointed Colonel of the Second regiment, and my father, Israel Shreve, was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the same regiment; Maxwell took charge of four companies, rendezvous in Trenton, and the other four companies were under the command of my father at Burlington. Their commissions (I believe) were dated in November of that year; the companies were all completed in December, but clothing, arms and other equipments could not be procured for all the men until the month of February. Maxwell's men were supplied first, and marched for Canada

with the other three regiments, the first commanded by Colonel Ogden, the third by Colonel Dayton and the fourth by Colonel Marten. They passed over Lakes George and Champlain and down the River Saint Lawrence on the ice to the plains of Abraham at Quebec. My father followed the last of February with his four companies, and took me with him. We passed through Trenton, past Sussex Court House in New Jersey and Kingston (alias Esopus) to Albany in New York, where we stayed several weeks waiting for the ice to disappear in the lakes; here we were joined by Colonel Buel's regiment from Connecticut and several companies from Pennsylvania. We proceeded up the Hudson river to old Fort Edward, then over to Fort George, at the head of Lake George, where we remained some time for the ice to pass out of Lake Champlain and the river Saint Lawrence, collecting batteaux and loading them with cannon balls, bombshells and other military stores. When the ice was gone out of Lake Champlain we, with 25 or 30 men in each boat, cut through the ice a considerable distance in Lake George, passed Ticonderoga, Crown-point and through Lake Champlain; then passed Fort St. Johns down the rapids to Fort Chamblee, from thence down the beautiful River Sorel to the River St. Lawrence, thence down the latter river between several islands, then through Lake St. Peter, said to be thirty miles wide each way, the St. Lawrence river passing through it. A heavy gale of wind came on us as we were about the middle of the lake; we all reached the shore in safety in the

dark night, but several of the batteaux filled with water. Next morning we got into the river below, and passed down in a heavy shower of snow by the town of Three Rivers, Point Shambo, and landed at Wolfe's Cove in sight of Quebec City; they fired cannon shot at us, which fell short of us, but we heard the shot or balls whistle, which were the first English bullets that I ever heard screaming in the air, but not the last. We marched up General Wolfe's road to the plains of Abraham, and joined our other troops, I believe on the 2nd or 3rd day of May, 1776. A fire ship had been prepared, to set the enemy's shipping in the harbor on fire, and was in waiting for our arrival to storm the city. After preparing ladders, an attempt was made to set the enemy's shipping on fire, and our army marched with the ladders to scale the walls; but the ship had been fired too soon, and blew up before she reached the enemy, and our troops threw down their ladders and returned to the encampment. The next day the British fleet arrived in sight of the city with a reinforcement of nine or ten thousand troops; our army then raised the siege and retired up the river on the sixth day of May, 1776.

I, with Samuel Shute, son of Captain Shute, who was a little younger than I was, with our guns and knapsacks filled with some clothing and provisions, were sent off by ourselves with orders to remain at Point Shambo till the army arrived at that place. An English armed schooner came up the river ahead of our army with intent to capture our boats at Point Shambo, which were in a cove above the point. She frequently

fired at Shute and me, but did no other damage than to kill a cow belonging to a Frenchman. She passed on ahead of our army, and at low water got half way up the rapids. At this point, the wind dying away, she drifted down and came to anchor below the falls. Our army came on before a vessel could ascend the falls, got possession of the boats and ascended the river, passed over Lake St. Peter, and arrived at the mouth of the River Sorel, where we met General Thompson from Pennsylvania with fresh troops; they, being full of fight, would go and meet the enemy; they took the boats, and met the enemy near the Three Rivers Landing, and left the boats without a guard. The enemy moved many vessels up the river, landed their troops and took possession of the boats, defeated General Thompson, killed many, and took him and half of his men prisoners. The survivors had to pass through a swamp and round the north side of Lake St. Peter, and cross over the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Sorel.

When we arrived at the encampment near Quebec General Thomas of New England commanded, but died in a few days with the small pox (and many of the New England soldiers died also; the British knowing the New Englanders were opposed to being inoculated, sent out spies to spread the disease in the American camp, which killed more Yankees than they did). After the defeat at the Three Rivers Sullivan had the command.

My father was left at Sorel to collect provisions. When the army went down the river with General Thompson I stayed

at Sorel. Captain Ephraim Anderson, who was blown up in the fire ship and considerably burnt, was sent express to Congress after the defeat at the Three Rivers, and my father sent me and Samuel Shute, a son of Captain Shute, with Captain Anderson to go home and attend a school to fit us better for the next campaign. Gen. Sullivan conducted our army up the River Sorel and over Lake Champlain, and made a stand at Mount Independence, opposite and in sight of Ticonderoga, where I was appointed Ensign, a few days after the Declaration of Independence, in the Second regiment. The four New Jersey regiments were raised for one year, and were discharged in December, 1776.

Capt. Anderson left me with Samuel Shute at Skenesborough contrary to promise, and took the most of my money. Samuel and I had to go on foot by ourselves to Albany; from that place we went in a vessel to New York. The British fleet had arrived near Sandy Hook a short time before, and we could see their masts, which appeared like a forest of dead trees. We went on foot from New York through Elizabethtown, Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and Bristol. I crossed over the Delaware to Burlington, and stayed a few days with my grandmother; then went to Philadelphia, and went to school, and continued at school until the Jersey troops were discharged.

I then was appointed first Ensign in the Second Regiment, my recruiting warrant was dated the 26th of December, 1776. Wm. Maxwell was appointed Brigadier Genl, and my father commissioned Colonel of the Second Regi-

ment. Three new regiments were ordered to be raised; Col. Ogden commanded the First, Col. Shreve the Second and Col. Dayton the Third. The new regiments were organized and mustered the first of February, 1777.

The enemy having been driven out of New Jersey, except at Brunswick and Amboy, Gen. Maxwell was appointed to command the New Jersey Brigade, consisting of the three regiments, and ordered to watch them at Brunswick, and to be on the lines between Elizabethtown, Newark and New York. The enemy came out from Brunswick and had an engagement with our regiment at the Short Hills; we lost Captain Ephraim Anderson, killed.

I was appointed Lieutenant the 1st of July. I was taken sick with a fever, and went to Col. John Olds, twelve miles east of the town of Reading, in Pennsylvania, where my father's family were residing after the enemy had overrun New Jersey. I was very low with the fever for several weeks. When I was well enough to ride out, Col. Olds took me to several harvest fields, where a dozen or more women were reaping and securing the wheat, and not a man with them; their fathers, husbands, brothers were at camp with General Washington, watching the movements of the enemy.

The British had embarked in their fleet, and were manœuvring on the coast between Boston and the Chesapeake, with the intention of baffling Gen. Washington, and keeping the American Army scattered from Boston to Philadelphia. They then sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and landed their

army at the head of Elk. I had by this time recovered my health and joined my regiment, which was on the march. We passed through the cities of Philadelphia and Wilmington, and halted and prepared to meet the enemy within two miles of the town of Newport, where the British army lay; this was on the 10th of September, 1777. The enemy moved in the evening, not to attack us where we were, but to get round our right flank. Washington perceiving their intent, moved our army in the night, and we crossed the River Brandywine at daylight the next morning, the most of our army fording at Chads'-ford; but Gen. Stirling's division, composed of Gen. Maxwell's brigade of New Jersey troops, and Gen. Conway's brigade of Pennsylvania troops, crossed at Brinton's ford, about two miles above, when we, in sight of the ford, laid on the leaves in the woods in a line on our arms to rest and wait for orders.

About ten o'clock a messenger came with the information that the main British army was on the road leading to Jeffrey's ford, about three miles above Brinton's, and that part of their army had been ordered to proceed to Chads'-ford, and to make a feint of crossing at that place to keep our army there, while they made a landing above. Upon this Washington ordered Gen. Stirling's division to go up and hold the enemy at Jeffrey's ford as long as possible, while he recrossed the river and attacked that part of their army that was sent there. Two brigades had recrossed, and the rest of our army was on the move to join them, when another messenger came and said the British troops that were

seen on their march for Jeffrey's ford were only a small party sent up to draw up and divide our army, so that the main British army could easily force their way over at Chads'-ford. Washington thinking the two Brigades that had recrossed would be in great danger, ordered them back, and directed Stirling's Division to halt for further orders. In less than one hour the third messenger came and said the main British army had actually crossed above, and were on their march down the river on the East side. Gen. Stirling was ordered up to meet them; on going half a mile we met them at Birmingham Meeting House, two miles below where they crossed. It was supposed by many of our officers that the second messenger was in the British interest, and gave that information to divide the American army and give the enemy the advantage, which proved to be the case. The enemy outnumbering us four to one, turned our right flank and broke us off platoon after platoon. When we had to give way, the enemy in our front was so much cut up they did not follow us. We got off all our wounded, the enemy put theirs in the Meeting House, and remained there the next day to bury the dead. Two men, Jeremiah McMahan and Ezekiel Jobs, were severely wounded near me; they both recovered. My father was also severely wounded in the thigh. I took him that night from the battle ground to near the town of Darby, where we stayed until morning, then through Philadelphia to one of my uncles in New Jersey. When we stopped to dress his wound, and unbuttoned his breeches at the knee, the bullet, which had been flattened on

one side by striking the bone, rolled down on his boot. I believe one of my sisters has it now. On our retreat we met a Virginian division coming to assist us, but it was too late; I believe they were not engaged with the enemy that day. This account of the battle at Brandywine does not agree with some statements written of that engagement, but what I have written respecting it I believe to be true. There was harder fighting at Chads'-ford, where Gen. La Fayette was wounded. The American army being scattered, the enemy had the advantage.

After they obtained possession of Philadelphia, I went with my father to Reading in Pennsylvania. I joined the regiment at White Marsh a short time after the battle at Germantown. Our brigade was ordered to cross the river at Schuylkil, and break up a redoubt the Hessians were building near Gray's ferry, opposite Philadelphia. We were ordered to attack the fort on three sides at once, North, South and West; I had the middle forlorn hope on the West; they, hearing we were coming to attack them, left the fort and crossed over the Schuylkil River to Philadelphia. On our return we heard the explosion and saw fragments flying in the air of the British ship of war which blew up near Mud Island Fort. We then went into winter quarters, and built log huts at Valley Forge, where the whole army suffered for want of provision and clothes. I was sent with a scout of 26 men on a very cold night; the ground had been very muddy, and having frozen suddenly, was very rough, there was not a pair of shoes in the detachment;

blankets were cut up and put around the feet of some of the men, but soon were worn out so that their feet came to the ground, and they could be tracked by the blood. We came to a farmhouse about 10 or 11 o'clock about 15 minutes after an English scout had left the house; the men of the house were away, the women said if we stayed the English, they were afraid, would return and kill us. I told her we came to meet them if they were out, and were not afraid of them. I let the men lay in the fresh straw in the barnyard near an hour to rest themselves. I told the woman I wanted her to give the men some bread and milk that the English had left.

She with reluctance gave each of them some. She would not tell where the men belonging to the house were. I expect they were gone to the city with provisions to market. She appeared to me to be in the British interest, as no one called or known to be a Whig would stay and live so near the British army, as the Tories, who were worse than the English, would butcher them. We followed the road from this farmhouse to the river, then up the river road to our encampment at Valley Forge, where we arrived a little after daylight.

My father had now recovered sufficiently to join his regiment. After we received a partial supply of clothing, my father was ordered to take his regiment across the River Delaware and make a stand at Haddonfield, about seven miles from Philadelphia, to watch the enemy and prevent them getting any supplies from that side of the river. The English could not remain in that city much longer, unless they should get supplies

from the country. Our patrols stopped a great quantity of provisions going to the British.

General Washington and Congress were trying to increase the army that he could prevent the enemy from returning to New York, and they were becoming uneasy in their situation, as our army was getting fairly supplied with clothing.

I have thought of an occurrence which happened on the 11th of September, 1777, the day of the battle at the Brandywine. In the morning of that day of the battle a division of the enemy came near Brinton's ford while we lay in the woods near the ford; they discovered us, and fired several bombshells at us, which burst in the tree tops near where we were. As we had been marching four or five days and all one night, some of our officers obtained a pig, with the intention of barbacueing it, that we might have one good meal, as we expected hard work before night. When the messenger came at about ten o'clock (as I mentioned before), informing us that the main body of the enemy was on the road to Jeffrey's ford, we expected to be ordered soon to meet them; the roasted pig was examined, it was yet quite raw, we cut off slices and roasted them before the fire. But Captain Stout of our regiment could not eat any; he was asked if the enemy's bombshells that burst over our heads had taken away his appetite. He replied: "No, gentlemen, you know me better than that, but since I came to this ground I am satisfied that I shall not eat another mouthful or see the light of another day, but you will see

that I will do my duty as well as any of you." After we met the enemy and the engagement commenced, a cannon ball went through Captain Stout and through a Sergeant that stood behind him and killed both of them. This I know to be truth— I heard that a Captain Ashton of the British army told this story after that battle was over. When they were marching down on the east side of the river Brandywine from Jeffrey's ford and in view of the Birmingham Meeting House, Captain Piercy of the British army said that the scenery before him was as familiar to him as the scenery at his native place in Northumberland (in England); it had come before him at the twilight and in his slumbers over and over again, and added, "I know I am to die here." The battle soon commenced, and Captain Piercy received a mortal wound; he was taken to the Meeting House, and died before night in the presence of Capt. Ashton. The British buried the next day Colonel Gordon and Capt. Piercy of the English army and Capt. Stout of the American army in one grave.

Finding the enemy in Philadelphia were preparing for a move, Gen. Washington sent Gen. Maxwell with the rest of his Brigade to join us. While he prepared our army to move after or to meet them, Maxwell came to Mount Holly, where my father joined him. Maxwell was informed that the enemy was fitting out an expedition to plunder the inhabitants between the mouth of Rancocas River and the city of Burlington before they left Philadelphia, and sent me with twenty-six men to pass down Rancocas to the Delaware,

then up to Dunk's ferry, and try to stop them if they came. I patrolled all the night, but they did not come, and I returned through Burlington to Mount Holly the next morning and joined the regiment. The enemy soon after crossed their whole army over the Delaware at Philadelphia, and began their march toward New York. When they approached near Mount Holly I was sent off with the baggage of the Brigade (I believe in six wagons) to pass through Bordentown and Trenton, then on the road towards Princeton, there wait at the Red Barracks until the enemy had passed Allentown towards Monmouth Court House, as it appeared they would take that road. Gen. Washington was on his march and crossing the River Delaware at Howell's and Creell's ferry above Trenton with his main army. When he with the army crossed the road leading from Trenton to Princeton towards Monmouth Court House, I followed him with the baggage that I had under my care, and stopped at Englishtown, a small village three miles north of the Court House. General Washington met the enemy near the Court House, where he had a general engagement with them. The British left the field of battle and retired to their former encampment; Washington kept his ground, he had planned the action well, and if General Lee had obeyed and executed his orders, Washington would in all probability have destroyed and taken the most, if not all of the enemy at that place. This action occurred on the 27th of June, 1778. After the battle the British left their dead and the most of their wounded on the battle ground,

and took their flight in the night. Gen. Washington lay wrapped in his cloak under a tree with his troops on the battle ground all night, waiting for light to renew the engagement, but the enemy had fled. The day of the action was so exceedingly hot that many soldiers of both armies fell dead from the great heat and the want of water. Lee, was for disobedience of orders, deprived of his command and sent home. The day after the battle I joined the Brigade with the baggage. After I reached the battle ground I halted at a Presbyterian Meeting House and barn, both filled with wounded men of the American and English; the surgeons of both armies (the enemy had left several), after having been twenty-four hours dressing the wounded, had not got through. After the dead were buried we remained a few days to refresh the men. The enemy had got so near to Sandy Hook they were protected by their shipping, and as our men were much fatigued it was not proper to follow them with the whole army.

The enemy in a few days reached New York. Our army then went to the west and north of New Nork, the New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Gen. Wm. Maxwell, took our former station between Amboy, through Woodbridge, Elizabethtown and Newark, where we remained through the summer, the following winter and the forepart of the summer of 1779. We had many skirmishes with the enemy during this time; they at one time came in force and burnt the barracks at Elizabethtown, and in June their Gen. Knyphausen, with about eight thousand troops, passed about

seven miles into the country, and burnt a little village called Connecticut-farms; after plundering the inhabitants and killing the wife of Parson Colwell and burning his house near Springfield, they returned to Elizabethtown, losing many men, killed and wounded, and sergeant, corporal and twelve men taken prisoners. I had the Camp Guard with twelve Tories confined, and Gen. Maxwell sent me to Chatham, a village three miles west of Springfield, with the Tories and the English prisoners, where I remained about a week, and then took them to Morristown, put them in jail, and joined the regiment on the lines near where General Knyphausen lay at Elizabethtown.

After the British Gen. Clinton arrived at New York from Charlestown in South Carolina with troops, Gen. Knyphausen, being reinforced, came out with nine or ten thousand men to destroy our stores at Morristown. Maxwell had but about fifteen hundred men, but the militia and Gen. Green with troops came to our assistance. My father's regiment, with Col. Angel's regiment of Rhode Island troops, contended with the enemy at the bridge east of the town of Springfield; after their pioneers had relaid the bridge and crossed over, we were forced to retire to the bridge west a quarter of a mile, of the town and in fair view of it, where we met Gen. Greene and several thousand militia. The enemy burnt all the town, but two or three houses belonging to Tories, and retreated rapidly to Elizabethtown and crossed over to Staten Island. We followed them, but no engagement was brought on. The inhabitants residing on the road said

they had thirty wagons on their retreat, all filled with their dead and wounded. I know they left some of their dead in Springfield. I lost one man killed within two steps of me in my platoon, and received a slight wound in one of my legs; this engagement took place on the 27th of June, 1779. We continued in that neighborhood until the latter end of August, when we were ordered to march to the Susquehanna and join Gen. Sullivan, who had been ordered to chastise the Indians and Tories who massacred the inhabitants on the Susquehanna the year before. We arrived at Wyoming (now Wilkesbarre) in September, then proceeded up the river to the mouth of the Chemung branch, where the town of Athens now is. At Wyoming we were joined by troops that came up the river that from Northumberland, and by troops came down the river from the state of New York. While we waited here for the latter troops our Brigade marched up the river Chemung twelve miles in the night to an Indian town by that name; we arrived at daylight. The Indians laid in ambush, and killed one of our men by my side (he touched me when he fell) and wounded several, one of them died. We knew of but one Indian killed; we burnt their town (ten or twelve houses), cut down several acres of good corn, and returned down the river, carrying corn, pumpkins, garden truck and the dead and wounded men in several boats that we had taken up the river, and arrived at our encampment in the afternoon. After remaining here a few days, my father was ordered with a detachment to build a stockade fort at a place about two or three miles

up the two rivers, Susquehanna and Chemung, where they pass each other within about one hundred yards. I was left with this detachment. The fort was called Fort Sullivan ; it was nearly four square, about 90 yards one way and a little under the other way, and was built by digging a trench $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and placing upright logs in the trench about twelve feet high, leaving two or three gateways. After leaving the heavy baggage and the woman that belonged to the camp, Gen. Sullivan marched up the Chemung River to the Indian settlement in the northwest part of New York State, called Genesee country, inhabited by several tribes of Indians and tory white men, who were under the influence of the English, and hired by the British Government to burn the property and kill the American men, women and children, by offering a reward for all the scalps they could take ; our army killed some of them and lost several men in several skirmishes, burnt their town and destroyed their corn and other property, but could not bring the Indians and tories to a general engagement ; the British had troops with the Indians. After destroying all that could be found, our army returned to Fort Sullivan ; we left the Fort and passed down the River to Wyoming the last of October. We kept the boats in order until their return. I had four boats under my care going up and steered one of them. Our Brigade then crossed the great swamps at the head of the Lehigh River, a branch of the Delaware, marched through Easton, and passed the winter near Morristown in New Jersey.

I got leave of absence, and went to

school about two months and boarded at my uncle's, Thomas Curtis, in Burlington County. I joined the regiment before the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1780. We then took our former station on the lines, and had frequent skirmishes with the British on Staten Island at Strawberry Hill, Ash Swamp, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newark, Passaic and in Bergen, and passed the summer of 1780 in that way. When the enemy sent a twenty gun ship up the River Hudson, conveying their Adjutant General John Andre (the spy), she came to anchor at the head of Tappan Bay, about seven miles below West Point ; Andre landed, had an interview with Major General Benedict Arnold, who conducted him to West Point Forts, and gave him a plan of the forts and public works. When the ship took her station so near the highlands and so near the Fort, the New Jersey Brigade was ordered up the river to the little village of Orangetown near the river ; here we met Gen. Greene with several Brigades of New England troops. I was ordered with a sergeant, corporal and twenty-four privates to take a stand on the west bank of the bay, nearly opposite where the ship lay, and watch her motions, and prevent her having intercourse with the shore on that side of the river. I was then about three miles above Orangetown, and was to remain there one week unless sooner recalled ; after being there a few days, I saw a barge, with four oarsmen and two men sitting in the stern sheets, rowed to the ship ; she immediately weighed anchor, made sail and passed down the river, with a full band of music playing ; be-

fore she got out of sight another boat came out of the narrows from West Point, rowed by four men, and with two sitting in the stern; she passed on by me and landed at the mouth of a small stream called the Slote, which comes down from Orangetown. She was the guard boat from West Point, commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Edes, with information to General Greene that Major John Andre, the Adjutant General of the British Army, a spy, had been taken on a horse within a short distance of the British lines, with a plan of the forts and works in the handwriting of the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold; Major Andre gave his name as John Anderson, and had a pass from Arnold with that name. He was taken by three militia men, and conveyed to an American officer at an outpost, who suffered him to write a letter to Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, informing him that he was taken prisoner; and it was the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold that I saw making his escape to the British ship. I was then recalled, and joined the regiment; General Washington returned at that time from Rhode Island, where he had an interview with the French Admiral De Grasse. Gen. Washington then sent the spy, Major John Andre, to Orangetown to Gen. Greene, and called on the Governor of the State of New York for the militia to keep possession of West Point, not knowing the extent of the conspiracy among the troops that Gen. Arnold had under his command. Washington sent them to Gen. Greene, and followed himself as soon as he had made preparations to repair the breaches that Arnold had

made in several of the fortifications while the spy John Andre was there; his excuse for this being that he wanted to make alterations for their better security. After Gen. Washington arrived at Orangetown, where the greatest part of our army was collected to resist an expected attack of the British upon West Point, he ordered a Court Martial of general officers to try Major Andre; they pronounced him a spy, and sentenced him to be hanged. General Washington approved the sentence, and appointed a day for its execution. The prisoner was guarded by a Captain, two subalterns and sixty privates. I was not on duty the day of execution, and when the guard moved from the place of confinement with the prisoner, I joined them: we passed to the north to a cross street, then wheeled to the west, which brought us in view of the gallows and of a great number of citizens and soldiers collected to see the execution. Andre did not appear to be in the least confused, and was in a familiar conversation with the Captain and one of the other officers of the guard—one walking on each side of him between the two platoons formed of the guard. On looking forward and seeing the gallows, Andre broke off from conversation and said, "I am fully reconciled to my fate, but am disappointed in the mode;" he had petitioned Washington to be allowed to die like a soldier, he could not bear the idea of dying on a gibbet; he then recommenced conversation. When we arrived at the place of execution my father had the command of the detachment that formed a square around the gallows to keep off the crowd, and

opened to the right and left to let us through; there was a wagon standing under the gallows with a coffin in it, and Andre stepped up into it. Gen. Parsons of our Army was officer of the day; he rode near and read the sentence of the Court Martial against him, and looking at his watch said, "Major Andre, you have fifteen minutes to live, if you anything to say, you can say it." Andre replied, "I have nothing to say, but this is for you to bear witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." He then took two white handkerchiefs out of his pocket, pulled off his scarlet coat and handed it to his servant, telling him to put it in his trunk. The man obeyed, going to the house where the trunk was, the tears running down his cheeks as he went. The wagon moved to let Andre swing clear; I have seen several men hung, but he flounced about more than any one I ever saw. When dead he was taken down, put in the coffin and driven under an escort to the landing place at the river, where a boat belonging to the enemy was waiting by permission, and took the corpse of Major Andre to New York City, and arrived with it at the British camp before midnight. His body was not buried under or near the gallows, as some historians have asserted. Within a few days after the execution of the spy the New Jersey Brigade, under General Wm. Maxwell, marched to West Point and relieved the New York Militia; they had repaired the breaches that the traitor Arnold had caused to be made in the fortifications. My father was ordered with the Second New Jersey Regiment to go down near the lines of the

enemy on the east side of the River to protect a brigade of wagons that went down to bring up a quantity of forage that it was supposed the inhabitants were preparing to take to the enemy in the city of New York. I had the Piquet Guard the night we laid nearest the enemy; the wagons were loaded and moved on their return; we followed and came up to them before night, halted, put out a guard and laid down in a line on the long grass in a meadow that had not been cut. We had been marching three days and having no sleep the night before, as I had the advance guard, I slept all night. When waked to march after the wagons that had been driven all night, I found myself covered with snow, and did not know that it had been falling.

The next evening we reached West Point. The British came out after us, but I suppose the snow storm stopped them, as they did not come up with us. After remaining at West Point a few days, we were relieved by the other troops, and returned to our former station at and above Newark and Elizabethtown. General Washington, preparing to drive the Enemy from the city of New York, had collected about sixteen thousand troops for that purpose within twenty-five miles of the city, but our purchasing commissaries failing to bring on provisions, we were for several days without anything to eat but damaged salt pork, and but half allowance of that; for two days without even that. Washington knowing soldiers could not be kept idle in camp without anything to eat, marched the army down the river towards the enemy's lines, where there

were no inhabitants but those in the British interest, for if any of the inhabitants must be plundered, those should suffer who had for years been supplying New York with all the provisions they could procure. After we halted in the evening, one man in the company that I commanded asked liberty of me to go and see a friend who lived in the neighborhood; saying he had not seen him for some time, and that he would return before nine o'clock. I promised to excuse him at roll-call. He returned about eight o'clock, and gave my cook several pounds of excellent beef without saying how he got it. After provisions arrived at our former camp, our army returned to our former place of encampment, and the man who gave me the beef told me that he and another soldier saw two men killing a steer, they supposed, to take to the enemy; he told the men they were butchers also and would help them to skin the steer; they each took a slice and returned to camp. I suppose that was the friend he wanted to see. While our army had to wait for provisions, the enemy by calling in their outposts strengthened their position in New York, and this I suppose was the reason our army did not attack them.

After manœuvering and fighting several years, the two armies, our own and the enemy, went into winter quarters nearly on the same ground they occupied two years before. Our Brigade went into winter quarters by building huts at Mendham, near Raritan River, between Brunswick and Springfield. In the latter part of winter the Pennsylvania troops revolted. When they rose, the

commissioned officers opposing them, the rioters killed a lieutenant, and left their encampment and took up their quarters in Princetown. The enemy thought to persuade them to join the British army by offering to commission officers of their own appointment, and sent spies to negotiate with them; and to the honor of the revolters they said, their attachment to the cause of liberty was as strong as ever, and sent the spies to General Washington for trial, saying if the enemy sent an army to persuade them to join the British, they would fight them to the last man under their own officers. The Legislature of Pennsylvania sent commissioners to ascertain their grievances; they said it was the want of pay and good clothing. The commissioners, with the commissioned officers of their regiment, satisfied them, and they returned to duty. Towards spring the New Jersey troops revolted also. The Legislature sent commissioners, who, together with my father, prevailed with them to return to their quarters, and if to their duty, promising that they should not suffer, and that the State would see that they should be supplied with pay and clothing. The revolters did return to their quarters, but the most of them refused to be subordinate to their officers. General Washington was determined to make an example of some of them, and had the leaders of the three regiments tried for their conduct. Two sergeants were condemned and shot, one of the First and the other of the Third Regiment. My father got the leaders of his regiment (the Second) clear.

Many of the men had enlisted to serve three years or during the war, but neither was designated. Some who had served three years claimed the privilege of leaving the service, and were discharged. The number of men being reduced, Congress ordered the men of one of the three New Jersey regiments to be distributed between the other two. My father being very fleshy, weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, left the service on half pay, and he thought, on account of the situation of our family, I had better leave the army also, as he had no available property left, not even being able to obtain what was due him from the Government. I left the army as he did. We rented a farm, and worked to support ourselves and the family. The same summer the capture of the British General Cornwallis and his army put an end to the war. That was the only engagement the New Jersey troops were in after I left the regiment.

The foregoing is not intended as a history of the Revolution, but merely as an account of the manner in which I passed the most of my time while I was in the army. I was in my minority the whole of the time, being but twenty-one years old at the close of that war.

I have written the foregoing narrative or statement, more than seventy years after the close of that war, from memory in the ninety-second year of my age, and without spectacles. Therefore I must be excused, as I cannot well transcribe and correct it, in letting it go as it is.

JOHN SHREVE

Near Salem, Ohio, Nov., 1853

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JOHN
SHREVE

Near Salem, Ohio, Jan. 16th, 1854

* * * I thought I would mention a few occurrences, that I now recollect, that were omitted from my narrative.

Shortly after the battle of Lexington, when the British troops went from Boston to take possession of the military stores belonging to the then province of Massachusetts, the militia in the county where my father resided began to organize; they met at least once a week to learn military discipline, and elected my father Colonel of the battalion in the year 1774; and in the year 1775, shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular service.

I will now mention what I understood from the conversation among the officers of our brigade concerning General Lee.

I believe it was before the British army took possession of Philadelphia, General Lee, with but one of his aids-de-camp, went to spend the day and dine with an acquaintance near the British lines; while at dinner a troop of British light-horse surrounded the house and took Lee prisoner. Washington had many captains and lieutenants prisoners that he took at Trenton and Princeton, but the British commander refused to exchange Lee unless Washington had one of the same rank. An American officer, who was acquainted in Rhode Island, knew where a British general quartered in that island, and procured a whale-boat and competent

men, who were used to row in rough water, and with a suitable number of chosen men, put out in the bay, and passed with muffled oars through the British fleet that was anchored near the Island, landed on the Island, took the sentinel prisoner, captured the General and pulled him out of bed, hurried him to the boat, and returned through the enemy's fleet in safety and landed with the prisoner on the Connecticut shore. Washington exchanged him for Lee shortly before the enemy left the city of Philadelphia.

After they left the city Washington came up to them at Monmouth Court-House. When the British General called a council of war some of the German troops opposed the risking a general battle; they were sent as a guard for their baggage to the forks of the roads, one leading to Middletown point and Sandy Hook, the other to Amboy—Washington called a council of war, General Lee opposed risking a general engagement, saying, British troops could not be conquered. All the others of the council, I believe, excepting one, whose name I have forgotten, were in favor of a general action. Washington then gave the officers the plan of attack. Lee, with his division of Virginians and one other division, the New Jersey brigade with them, was ordered to attack the rear-guard of the enemy on the west, and press on them and bring the main army to their assistance, not to retire until they drove him by force, and then he, Washington, with the main army, would march in between the British army and their baggage. As soon as the general action commenced General

Morgan, with his riflemen and our militia, were ordered to attack the Hessians and drive the baggage towards the town of Cranberry.

Lee disobeyed the orders, and suffered the English rear-guard, with not half the number of men that Lee had, to drive him. The British general then knew that Washington was not there, he went out north and met Washington late in the afternoon. After being engaged near half an hour the enemy retreated, and left their dead and wounded on the field. Washington sent his aid-de-camp three times to know why Lee did not press on the enemy. Lee said, "tell the General I am doing well enough." My father heard him say it. Washington called a court of inquiry on proof that Lee disobeyed general orders; he was suspended from his command for one year. The officers of our brigade knew he disobeyed orders, and some of them thought he was a traitor, but it could not be proven.

About the time Major Andre, the British spy, was brought a prisoner to the American camp General Washington was to have returned from Rhode Island to West Point, and it was reported in camp among our officers that one or two Tories, having men in disguise, lay in ambush to surprise Washington, and convey him to the British ship that Andre came up in, and traitor General Arnold made his escape to, and she was detained for that purpose. As soon as Andre would have arrived in New York the British ships were ready to ascend the river with troops and take possession of West Point fort. Andre being taken the plan was broken up. After Andre was

sentenced to be hung, I was told that he sent two or three notes, requesting an interview with the General, who declined to see him. If Washington had gone to see him, what would have been the consequences, as they were both Free-Masons?

Twenty-two years after General Arnold had made his escape I chartered a vessel at New Orleans to take flour to the West Indies. On the passage I found the captain of the vessel to be the same Lieutenant Edes that commanded the guard boat that followed traitor Arnold from West Point fort, and took the information of Andre being captured and Arnold's escape to General Greene at Orangetown. Captain Edes told me he could have taken General Arnold, but he thought it best to let him go. Were they not both Free Masons? Arnold certainly had some one or more that aided in the conspiracy.

After our brigade relieved the New York Militia at West Point, it was discovered that several of the cartridges prepared for the cannon in each fort had two or three inches of ashes in the lower end to prevent the fire from the tube igniting the powder.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—Mr. Shreve was wounded at the battle of Springfield, N. J., receiving a buckshot in one of his legs, which he carried to the day of his death. While the army was entering at Valley Forge, the soldierly bearing, bravery and intelligence of this lad, then only 14 years of age, shown in the different scouting expeditions sent out under his command, so won the admiration of a number of ladies then visit-

ing the army, among them an English lady, Miss Claypole, ardently devoted to the American cause, that, with the approbation of General Washington, they presented him with an exceedingly beautiful and valuable buckle, set with precious stones, for his sword belt. This buckle is now in the possession of one of his granddaughters, to whom he gave it with the warning—"Don't let it fall into disloyal hands."

Mr. Shreve married in 1786 Abigail, daughter of Solomon and Mary Ridgway, of Burlington county, N. J., and in 1788 moved to the western part of Pennsylvania, where he purchased a farm. In addition to farming, he was also engaged in the "Mississippi Trade." He purchased large quantities of flour on the Monongahela River, and floating it down the Ohio and Mississippi in flat boats to New Orleans, shipped it thence to the West Indies, where he exchanged it for sugar, coffee and other productions of these islands, which he brought to New York for a market.

It was while living in Pennsylvania that in 1824 he met his old comrade in arms, Lafayette. They had been warm friends in the army, both being very young, and had a peculiar salute which they gave each other whenever they met. When the boat carrying Lafayette touched at Brownsville, the usual speeches and receptions awaited the distinguished visitor, who received them with great calmness until, noticing a tall figure in the crowd, he at once recognized it, gave the old familiar salute and held out both arms to embrace his old friend.

In one of his visits to the east, in Nov-

ember, 1796, Mr. Shreve dined for the last time with General and Lady Washington, the latter calling his attention to the dinner service, which had been presented to her husband by the Society of Cincinnati. This, with the breakfast and tea sets, comprised a thousand pieces. It was manufactured in China, and the ornamentation was in blue and gold. Each piece had upon it the coat of arms of the society held by Fame, and the eagle of the order. Mr. Shreve was a member of the society.

During his residence in Pennsylvania he was for many years an active member of the State Legislature, and filled various offices with credit to himself and advantage to the public. About the year 1825, his children having removed to Ohio, he went to that State, and made his home with them until his death, which occurred September 8, 1854, in the ninety-third year of his age.

In closing a biographical sketch of Mr Shreve, the Democratic Transcript of Ohio, of October 11, 1854, said :

"He was a man of vigorous intellect and strong memory; he was benevolent to a fault, and often contributed to relieve the wants of others beyond what his own necessities would strictly justify. He was an ardent friend of freedom—strongly devoted to the principles of liberty, for which he had fought and bled under Washington. We have thus noticed concisely as possible a few of the leading incidents in the life of one who served his country, both in peace and war, with a faithfulness that won the approbation of such men as Washington and Lafayette and the community in

which he resided. To his posterity he has left the inheritance of an unsullied reputation, of greater worth than the gold of California."

S. H. SHREVE.

NOTES

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE GIVEN TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—Prior to 1876, when a more correct account of the historical facts was presented by the Hon. James Birney, U. S. Minister of Legation at the Hague, the common opinion had been that the first salute was given by a French Admiral on the 14th February, 1778. But the facts set forth by that distinguished gentleman, in an article from his pen, which was published at Concord, State of New Hampshire, and printed by the Republican Press Association—as we have recently learned—show that the flag was first formally saluted by the Governor of St. Eustatius, a Dutch island of the West Indies. The former opinion is said to have been derived through Commodore Preble, from the Diary of Dr. Ezra Green. But a fuller development of this matter may probably soon appear. W. H.

ERSKINE.—Robert Erskine, who was sent out to Ringwood, N. J., by the London Company to superintend their Iron Mines in 1772, was "Geographer and Surveyor General to the Army of the United States," as his monument erected at Ringwood by order of Washington, says: He died October 2, 1780, aged 45 years, and left behind him a

charming and accomplished widow. The Marquis de Chastellux stopped at Ringwood December 19, 1780, and called on Mrs. Erskine. He says: "I entered a very handsome house where everybody was in mourning, Mr. Erskine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erskine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the less fresh or tranquil for her misfortune." (*N'en avait pas l'air moins frais et moins tranquille.*) In the Secretary of State's office at Trenton, N. J., there is filed the marriage bond of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., and Elizabeth Erskine, dated October 13, 1781—a year and eleven days after the death of her husband. She doubtless found it difficult to manage the extensive works at Ringwood alone, and Mr. Hooper appears to have been willing to assist her. On May 31, 1782, in the Council, as the upper branch of the New Jersey Legislature was then called, "a petition from Colonel Robert Hooper praying to have leave to bring in a Bill for securing the estate and appurtenances lately in the possession of Mr. Erskine in the management and care of the said Mr. Hooper and his wife, late Mrs. Erskine, and the survivor of them subject to such settlements, payments and conditions as shall be thought proper, was read and granted." On June 7 following "Mr. Cox, on behalf of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., brought in a bill pursuant to leave, entitled 'an act to vest Robert Lettice Hooper, the younger, and Elizabeth, his wife, and the survivor of them, with powers of agency to take charge of and manage the estate of the *American Company*, commonly so called, in the counties of Bergen and Morris

and elsewhere, in this State, for the purposes mentioned therein.'" The bill passed the Council on June 11th, and the Assembly on the 20th.

WM. NELSON.

Paterson, N. J.

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.—But four autographs of General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the Oriskany battle in 1777, are known to be in existence. One of these is owned by M. M. Jones, of Utica; one by Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer; a third by a gentleman in Buffalo; and a fourth by the Oneida Historical Society at Utica. The latter is such a unique document, and sheds so suggestive a light upon the character of the education possessed by General Herkimer, and upon the strange and mongrel Dutch-English language which was in current use in the Mohawk Valley during the revolution, and traces of which are still found there, that I have made a transcript of it for *The Magazine of American History*.

[COPY]

ser yú will order your bode!lgen do mercks immiedeetle do ford eduard wid for das profiesen and amonieschen fied for an betell. dis jú will dú ben yúr berrell foram frind

Nicolas herchkeimer
to carnell pieder bellinger
ad de flats
ocdober 18, 1776.

Mr. Matthew D. Bagg translates this curious order as follows:

Sir:—You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward,

with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle. This you will disobey (at) your peril.

From (your) friend,

Nicholas Herkimer.

To Colonel Peter Bellinger, at the flats.

The order is written in a bold but blind hand, with no punctuation marks, and no capital letters except where indicated above.

The Colonel Peter Bellinger to whom this peremptory order was addressed was the colonel of one of the four regiments of Tryon County militia, and participated with his command in the battle of Oriskany. He was captured in that battle; and on the same night was compelled by Colonel St. Leger, together with Major Frey, who was also captured, to address a note to Colonel Gansevoort, commanding at Fort Stanwix, greatly exaggerating the disaster of Oriskany and counselling a surrender of the fort. General Herkimer undoubtedly knew how to spell his own name; and while the abbreviated form is well enough, in connection with the county christened in his honor, does not the fidelity of history require us, in speaking of the hero of Oriskany, to spell it Herchkeimer?

Utica.

S. N. D. NORTH.

INTRODUCTION OF CAMELS IN AMERICA.—A pamphlet of eight pages (anonymous) was printed in Cuba in 1831, entitled, "Memoria sobre las inmensas ventajas que resultarian de introducir y generalizar en esta isla el uso de los Camellos."

J. C. B.

QUERIES

HAVRE DE GRACE.—In the Journal of Count de Fersen (Mag. Am. Hist. III. 438), he mentions the fact that when they arrived at the head of Chesapeake Bay, Aug. 6, 1781, they learned that Count de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake on the 3d.

Is not *Havre de Grace* named for this de Grasse, and should it not read Havre de Grasse, instead of Havre de Grace? The local pronunciation of the last name is always as if it were spelled *grass*, I believe. Can any one throw light upon the question?

R. S. ROBERTSON.

Fort Wayne, Indiana.

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine give any information as to the origin of the game of cards called "Boston?" It is a comparatively insignificant matter but it is astonishing how little that is definite is recorded concerning the point in books of reference. My view is and I have seen it somewhere in print that it originated with the French officers on board the fleet which blockaded Boston harbor, and I want to substantiate or refute that idea. The terms used in the game are French, viz., Grande Misère; Petite Misère; Grande Misère ouverte; Petite Misère ouverte, &c. There are islands in Boston harbor, about Salem, and other places perhaps bearing the names of Independence, Great Misery and Little Misery—all terms used in the game. The Comte de Ségur in his memoirs gives Franklin the credit of introducing it, into the Salons of Versailles, with a political sig-

nificance; others connect it with the siege of Boston as originally American in origin, and the terms translated into French by Franklin, its *Miseries* and *Independence* relating to the phases of the siege. Later writers are in danger of obscuring its historical significance by calling it *Boast-on* and imply that it is of much older date. Larousse and Littré both refer to it in their dictionaries but not satisfactorily. Why could not Franklin have learned the game from the French officers and played it in France? W. L.

Washington.

THE TUTELOS.—The Shawanoes or Shawnees, now inhabiting a section in the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, have two names for their neighbors, the *Senecas*. A portion of the Seneca tribe, which was or is perhaps now mixed with Tutelos are called by them Tutelégi, being the plural form of Tutele, while the other portion are not called Senekagi, as could be expected, but Natuegi, the plural form of natue. A Weyandot or Huron Indian is called by them Natuésa; the Weyandot tribe Natuésgi. These names are both of Algonkin origin and are identical with the tribal name of the Nottoways and the Nadowaisi or *Sioux*; their meaning is that of *enemy* and more especially that of “sneaking fiend,” “enemy creeping up stealthily,” as the term is explained by Odjibwes. The Potawat’mis call a Weyandot man Notue, the Weyandot tribe Notueg, the plural form of the above and this meant *snake* in their dialect.

Through the discovery of Horatio

Hale, Esq., the Tutelos have become of great ethnologic importance. This investigator has given an unmistakable proof of their Dakota affinity by studying their language, and although his manuscript is not yet in print, and the location in which the Tutelos are first mentioned in history is far distant from the present seats of the Dakota tribes, this parentage can no longer be doubted. Tutleésa is a *proper name of man* among the Senecas in the Indian Territory, and some Tutelos may still exist there speaking their *own* language. Can anybody who lives or has lived in that neighborhood state in these columns, whether some Tutelos still exist among the Senecas there, and perhaps give their names? A. S. G.

Providence.

THE MAYFLOWER.—What became of the Pilgrims vessel Mayflower after it discharged its load at Salem, nine years after the landing at Plymouth.

Hartford.

C. D. W.

VIRGIL'S TEST OF SOILS.—Dr. Dodderidge in his Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, thus refers to Virgil's test of soils: “Judging from Virgil's test [*Viz. Geo. lib. II. l. 230*] of fruitful and barren soils, the greater part of this country must possess every requisite for fertility. The test is this: dig a hole of any reasonable dimensions and depth. If the earth which was taken out, when thrown lightly back into it, does not fill up the hole the soil is fruitful; but if it more than fill it up the soil is barren.

Whoever chooses to make this experiment will find the result indicative of the richness of our soil. Even our graves, notwithstanding the size of the vault, are seldom finished with the earth thrown out of them, and they soon sink below the surface of the earth."

Singular as this is I am inclined, from some experience, to think there is something in it. Can any reader of the Magazine throw any light on the subject?

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

HOLLOWAY'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON ENGRAVED.—While in London three years ago, a dealer in old books, &c., presented me with a line engraving of Washington—the only one of the kind I have seen. It may be very rare, rare or common so far as I know. The whole picture is $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The portrait of Washington is in an oval (engraved) frame $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Underneath is a view $1\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. inscribed "Event of the 19th of Oct'r, 1781, at York Town, in Virginia"—and underneath "Gen'l Washington,"—"J. Holloway Direxet." The paper and engraving are old and the likeness of Washington is very different from any I recollect of seeing before. What is known of it.

Utica, N. Y.

M. M. JONES.

ROCHAMBEAU.—I have heard it stated that the heirs of Count de Rochambeau some years since made application to the United States Government for a pension in recompense of his services in the Revolution. Is this true?

IULUS.

New York.

REPLIES

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III, 451.) I think Col. Loudermilk and Mr. Craig are both in error concerning the origin of this name. In one of the Pennsylvania regiments of the revolution was an enlisted Indian by the name of Shawnee John. He was an adept at making corn-cake, and the name Johnny's cake was bestowed on them by the soldiers—a name which has come down to us through a century of years. There is a diary of the revolution in which this is noted, but I cannot remember where at the present writing.

W. H. E.

QUIDEN.—(III, 202-454.) This Indian name for "a ship or boat" is found in a list of "words learned of the Savages, in their language," which is appended to Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage, 1605, as printed by Purchas. These words, or most of them, belong to the Caniba dialect of the Abnaki language, the same that is represented in Rasles' Dictionary. Rasles gives "*aguiden*, canot," and "*amasur*, canot de bois." Both names are found, under dialectic variations, along the Atlantic coast, from Nova Scotia to Virginia. The former is the Micmac *kwiiten* (Maillard), or *kvedun* (Rand), and the Virginian "*quintan*" and "*aquointan*" of Strachey, who tell us that the Indian boats, "which they call *quintans*, are very shapefull, made of one piece of timber," &c. (*Travaille into Virginia*, p. 68.) In Southern New England, the more common—and, so far as I know, the only—name was *mushoon*, or *m'shun*, corresponding to the Abnaki *amasur*; according to Roger Williams, "an Indian

boat, or canow, made of a pine, oak, or chestnut tree." We have other forms, in the Massachusetts *meshue*; Delaware *amochkol* (Zeisberger); Miami *missblé* (Volney), and Illinois *missouri*; all meaning "canoe."

Both these names appear to be *general*, that is, to be applicable to any canoe, whether of bark or wood, "dug out" or framed. "Quiden" or *Aguiden* is derived from an Algonkin verb meaning "to float in" or "to be supported by water;" (Chippeway *agwindé* "it floats, being partly in the water," Baraga.) The derivation of *amasur* or *m'shoon* is not ascertained. Rastes and Roger Williams agree in translating it by "a canoe of wood;" but in some dialects it was used, with or without a prefix, for a bark canoe; e. g. Illinois *wicwes missuri*, "canot d'écorce" (Gravier).

J. H. T.

MINOT.—(III, 378.) An Indian basket. Massachusetts, *menota* (Wood, 1634), *manoot* (Eliot); Narrag., *mundte* (R. Williams); Pequot, *munnoth*; Abnaki, *menouit* (Rasles). Wood says, the Indian women gather "hempe and rushes . . . of which they make curious baskets: these be of all sizes from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage." (*N. E. Prospect*.) The name comes from a root meaning to carry a burden, and denotes "an instrument for carrying, or bearing." Some of these "great bags or sacks made of hempe," by the Narragansetts, would "hold five or six bushells."

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. T.

—Boyer's Dictionaire Royal, printed

in 1729, gives the word *minot*, measure containing half a mine; *mine*, measure containing half a sextier; sextier is not given. The revised edition of 1818 describes it as a vessel containing half a mine—a measure containing three bushels, as of salt, wheat, oats, &c.

IULUS.

—Under this word Littré, the latest French authority, says: "An ancient measure of capacity which contained the half of a *mine*, the equivalent of 39 litres. Minot flour—the kind which, intending for shipment, is packed in barrels.

Proverb.—We shall not eat a minot of salt together, that is, we shall not be long together.—I tell you, Sir, that I do not like such an answer and that we shall not eat a minot of salt together. *Hauteroche cocher supposé*. E. P.

—J. C. can find the word in Spier & Surrenne's French Dictionary. "Minot, n. m. (vieilli), a measure, 39 litres." A litre is 1.76 pint, a *minot* would therefore be slightly more than a bushel. Spier & Surrenne give as example: "Manger un minot de sel ensemble—to eat a peck of salt together." H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

—In reply to the Query of J. C., I would say, that a "minot" is a measure equal to three of our bushels. See any French Dictionary.

CLEMENT F. SMITH.

Kokomo, Ind.

—(III, 378.) Our modern Canadians call a bushel, *un minot* or *un menot* in

their language. Originally two *menots* was *un sac*, a bag, and the *menot* was a somewhat larger measure than a bushel. But I cannot tell whether their *sac* equalled Johnson's measure of a *bag*, three bushels, or not. C. P. MAES.

Monroe, Mich.

MUSCIPULA.—(III, 379.) This Latin poem was written by Edward Holdsworth, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and was first published, in London, 1709. For a brief memoir of the author—an eminent scholar—see Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii., p. 67. English translations have been made by Samuel Cobb (ob. 1713); R. Gostling (*London*, 1715); Dr. Edward Cobden, 1718 (published, London, 1757); R. Lewis, 1728; Dr. John Hoadly, 1737, printed in Dodsley's "Collection of Poems," vol. v, p. 258 (ed. 1758); and probably by Dr. Benjamin Young Prime, of Huntington, L. I., and New York, the author of "The Patriot Muse," and of the "other poems, in different languages, by an American," which were printed at Newburg, N. Y., in 1838, in the little volume mentioned by W. P.

The original Latin poem was reprinted, with R. Lewis's English version, at Annapolis, Md., in 1728, in a duodecimo of 52 pages, dedicated to Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, as the

"FIRST ESSAY

Of Latin Poetry in English Dress,
Which MARYLAND hath published from the Press."

A copy of this volume, lacking the title page, in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, was described in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. iv, p.

152, with a query as to its history, authorship and title. The title, with a reference to this description, is entered in the Am. Antiquarian Society's (Haven's) catalogue of Anti-Revolutionary Publications, under the year 1730. I have not seen a copy of the book itself, but the date of its publication is fixed, very nearly, by Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, who mentions his receipt of a copy in March, 1628-9, which was printed at Annapolis, "this year," and "one of the first things ever printed in that country" (!) See *Reliquia Hearniane*, p. 768, and *Notes & Queries*, 2d Ser., v., 176. J. H. T.

Hartford, Conn.

—Cambromyomacia, or "The Mouse-Trap." In answer to the query of "W. P." in this year's June number of the *Magazine of American History*, as to the authorship of this curious old "Satirico-Epic," Latin poem, we here quote a "Postscript," pasted on the last preface-page of *our* copy (published by Dodd, of this city, in 1840), which certainly seems to decide the matter for all time, and reads thus: "The *Presbyterian*, of Jan. 20th, 1844, contains an article headed "*Suum Cuique*," from which the following extract is made: 'The "*Muscipula*" may be found in a collection of Latin Poems, published in London, entitled, "*Musae Anglicanae*," Vol. II, p. 106, where it is attributed to E. Holdsworth, of Magdalen College, Oxford. The *imprimature* of this work is dated 1691; the edition before me, which belongs to the Philadelphia Library, was printed in 1761." W. H.

Inwood, N. Y. City.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN AND CABINET KEEPER, NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1877-8. pp. 45. EDWIN MARTIN STONE, Librarian. [Providence, 1878.]

The worthy Librarian of this excellent institution congratulates himself and the Society, with good reason, on the good work of the official year. The papers were of an interesting and instructive character, and the treasures of the Society have been considerably increased. We regret that the Society has not yet seen fit to resume the printing of its collections, now for many years suspended. Each generation should do its full duty, and one volume each year is not too much to expect of the Rhode Island Society. The materials for history grow so rapidly that it is not well to postpone their preservation by publication.

In the report an account is given of the battle of Rhode Island. There it appears that the Rhode Island colored regiment, the first ever raised in the United States, was engaged; and as an appendix the protest of the American officers, dated August 22d, 1778, from their camp before Newport against the withdrawal of d'Estaing with the French fleet. In this it will be noticed that one of their reasons for such protest was that "the apprehension of Admiral Byron's being upon the coast was not well founded."

General Sullivan in his letter to Congress shortly after congratulated himself on the timeliness of his retreat, as one hundred sail of the enemy arrived in the harbor the morning after. It seems plain now that d'Estaing was fortunate in his withdrawal to Boston, and that the least delay would have led to his being absolutely blockaded, perhaps, indeed, captured by a superior force. The French navy showed courage enough, but the British had a better organization, and always contrived to throw a superior force upon any given point. Such was the case at Newport in 1778.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. 1791-1835. Published at the charge of the Peabody Fund. 8vo, pp. 581. Published by the Society. Boston, 1879.

Since the year 1855 the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society have been regularly published, and the issue already numbers fourteen volumes, but it is not until now that a beginning has been made in the printing

of the earlier records. This, the first of the important series, embraces the proceedings of the Society from January 24, 1791, when it was instituted, to March 26, 1835, inclusive. The committee of publication, which consists of Messrs. Charles Deane and Charles C. Smith, announce in their introduction that a second volume, containing the proceedings to the annual meeting in April, 1855, at which the administration of Mr. Savage as President concluded, and that of Mr. Winthrop, the present President, begun, will soon follow.

The honor of founding the Society, the oldest it is claimed of the character in the United States, is ascribed to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. The idea was proposed to him by John Pintard of New York, to whose literary taste and philanthropy New York owes many of its most important institutions of economy, charity, commerce and learning. Their first practical work was in the collection of books and manuscripts, and in the encouragement of the publication of a weekly paper called the *American Apollo*; a fac-simile of the proposal for which is given in the present volume. The *Apollo* ran for thirty-nine numbers, and contained under the same cover the proceedings of the Society. It then cut loose from the Society and assumed a newspaper form. Scattered through the present volume of proceedings are portraits of nine of the ten original members, who were the founders in 1791, one of which, that of James Sullivan, in steel, is admirable in its execution. The others are by heliotype process. There are numerous other interesting illustrations, fac-similes and views of houses occupied by the institution. The proceedings contain notices of the resident members, which make an excellent contribution to genealogical literature, and the volume closes with an elaborate and carefully prepared index.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo, pp. 48. BIGELOW BROTHERS. Buffalo, January, 1879.

This initial publication of the Buffalo Society, which ranks among its members some of the best known historical investigators in the country, begins with the inaugural address of Millard Fillmore, delivered at American Hall, July 1, 1862. The curious investigator into the origin of names will here find the reason for that of Buffalo, and in the second of the papers in the collection an exhaustive disquisition on the origin of the name of Buffalo, read the next

year, 1863, by William Ketchum. In his opinion the buffalo ranged on the south shore of Lake Erie as far east as the foot of the lake, a fact which Mr. Fillmore doubted. The pamphlet ends with a poem, *The last of the Kah-Kwahs*, by David Gray, a story of the destruction of the "Nation Neutre," based on the historical investigations of O. H. Marshall, Esq., the best authority on the Indian local history of this interesting region.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 34. JOHNSON, SMITH & HARRISON. Minneapolis, 1879.

This department of the Minnesota Society was formed in April, 1879. At its next monthly meeting a letter of Rev. Gideon H. Pond was read, describing his life among the Sioux Indians at Lake Calhoun in the year 1834. This, the first paper in the pamphlet, is followed by an account of the Indian battle of Lake Pokegama in 1841, by Edmund F. Ely, formerly teacher of the mission school at that place. Next comes a memoir of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, followed by some minor papers, among which one by Edward S. Stebbins on the Stone Implements of the Aborigines found in Saratoga county and at the West.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1878-9. In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo. PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 1879.

We called attention last year (II. 59) to the extreme value of this admirable series of reports, in which, thanks to the simple arrangement, the movements of American commerce may be read at a glance. We invite a reference to the extracts from the preface to the volume for 1878, by which those we make from the present volume can be more easily understood. The trade summary for the fiscal and calendar year is thus given:

The total foreign imports into the United States, including specie and bullion, in the year ending June 30, 1878, amounted in value to \$466,872,846, of which New York received \$313,179,649, or sixty-seven per cent. The total domestic exports of the United States, including specie and bullion, amounted to \$722,811,815, of which New York sent \$338,092,748, or forty-seven and a half per cent. Of the total foreign trade, imports and exports (with foreign exports added, \$20,834,738), amounting to \$1,210,519,399, New York had \$664,996,269, or fifty-five per cent.

These comparisons are brought down to the close of the official year, but we add, for further information, that the total imports of merchandise into the United States for

the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$431,812,583, against \$480,246,300 in 1877, showing a decrease in 1878 of \$48,433,717. The total exports, domestic and foreign, for 1878 amounted to \$737,155,611, against \$600,302,412 in 1877, showing an increase in 1878 of \$116,853,199. The total foreign trade of the United States, exports and imports, exclusive of specie and bullion, for 1878, amounting to \$1,168,068,194, against \$1,100,548,712 in 1877, an increase of \$68,419,482.

The total imports into the port of New York, including specie and bullion, for the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$303,186,867, against \$329,088,868 in 1877, and the total exports, \$362,522,088, against \$286,431,140 in 1877—a total of trade for 1878 of \$665,708,955, against 655,520,008 in 1877, an increase of \$10,188,947.

The balance of trade of the United States with foreign nations is also noted.

It is of importance also to note that the aggregate value of exports over imports for the calendar year 1878, exclusive of specie and bullion—in other words, the *balance of trade* was in favor of the United States:

Exports, calendar year 1878.....	\$737,155,611
Imports do. do.....	431,812,583

Balance of trade, 1878.....	\$305,343,028
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In the subdivision, entitled coins, currency and banking, appear the following interesting paragraphs:

The resumption of specie payment gives an intense interest to the production and movement of gold and silver, on which it must solely depend, there being no possible control or check by Government or the banks, as in other specie payment countries, over the import or export of the precious metals by the increase or decrease of the price of discount, liberating or attracting money, as the turn of exchanges indicates with precise accuracy the changing centre of the balance of trade.

The Government reports show the production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint, of gold and silver for the year ending June 30, 1878, to have been..... \$76,870,319
Imports during same period..... 29,921,314

Total.....	\$106,691,633
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted.....	33,740,126

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878... \$72,951,507

The year 1877, it will be remembered, was the *first* year since 1861 that we were able to retain any considerable portion of the annual product of our mines. The increase in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, was shown to be..... \$65,145,241
Add increase to June 30, 1878, as above... 72,951,507

Increase in fiscal years 1877-1878..... \$138,096,748

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again take as the point of departure the estimate of the late Dr. Lindermann, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the country in the fall of 1873, an estimate acknowledged as essentially correct, and which can be verified to within a fracture of a million by tabular statements of the movements of the metals since the estimate of Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint in 1861, which is also authoritative.

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Lindermann's estimate.....	\$140,000,000
Production, 1873 to 1878.....	995,175,329
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1878.....	135,888,032

Total.....	\$571,063,361
Less exports, 1873-1878.....	305,171,182

In the country, June 30, 1878..... \$265,892,179

Coin in country, June 30, 1877..	\$192,940,672
Increase 1878.....	72,951,507
	\$265,892,179

To ascertain approximately the amount of coin in the country on the 1st of July, 1879, an addition must be made for the increase of the last six months:

Amount in the country, June 30, 1878. \$265,892,179
Estimated production to 1st

January, 1879. \$38,000,000
Imports to January 1879. 11,190,910

\$49,190,910

Less exports and re-exports,
July, 1878, to July, 1879. \$13,288,609

Increase, July, 1878, to January, 1879. 35,902,301

Amount of gold in country, January 1, 1879. \$301,794,480

The correctness of these figures is verified in another manner:

Coin in the Treasury, as per statement of the
Public Debt, December 31, 1878. \$224,865,477

Coin held by the National Banks, as by the
statement of the Comptroller of the Cur-
rency, December 31, 1878. 41,499,757

Estimate of coin in outside holding. 35,429,246

Total, January 1, 1879. \$301,794,480

This sum of three hundred millions in coin is the largest ever reported in the United States. Mr. Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury in 1854, in a table, entitled "Estimate of the amount of gold and silver in the United States at different periods," stated the amount for that year at two hundred and forty-one millions, the largest since the establishment of the Department. Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint, at Philadelphia, in a careful estimate made by the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, reported the amount on October 1, 1861, at from two hundred and seventy-five to three hundred millions.

It is this gradual increase in the coin reserve of the country which has made the transition from an irredeemable to a redeemable currency possible, and a continuance of this ratio of augmentation will still further strengthen the position of the Treasury.

The currency of the country may now be examined. By the official statement of the public debt, there were in circulation of old demand legal-tender notes and fractional currency, December 31, 1878. \$367,366,755
And by statement of the Comptroller of the
Currency, December 31, 1878, National
Bank notes. 303,506,470

Total currency in circulation, Jan. 1, 1879. \$670,873,225

Every decrease of the paper circulation will strengthen the financial situation of the country. It is a marked fact, that while it is the policy of the banks to pay gold coin to all that demand it, their own reserve of metal, notwithstanding the great increase of gold in the country and the Treasury, shows no increase, but rather a decline, while as yet *but little gold passes from hand to hand*. It is questionable whether it be the true policy of either the Treasury or the banks to diminish the uses of gold by any expedient. The more thoroughly it is made to replace paper in the daily transactions of the people, the greater the reserve in the country will be in time of need. It must never be forgotten that there is no other money than the precious metals, and that the circulating medium of the country is strong as it is deficient in them. A gradual judicious funding of paper by the Government will soon restore coin to general circulation, *without causing any stringency in the money market*, and gradually re-instate a safe ratio between the paper circulation of the country and the foundation upon which it rests.

While the excellent judgment and remarkable ability of the Secretary of the Treasury have taken the best advantage of favorable circumstances in the funding of the debt and the resumption of specie payment, it must be remembered that neither the legislation of Congress nor the ability of the Secretary, nor the hearty concurrence of the banks, could have effected the transition safely but

for the fact that a continuous balance of trade in favor of the United States has permitted us to retain our product of coin for two years, so completely that there is now in the vaults of the Treasury alone, without any regard to the amount held by banks or individuals, thirty millions more of coin than existed in the country a year ago.

It is our plain duty to take advantage of this opportunity to secure an absolute ground of safety, as it may not be long offered, in the rapid change which seems to be the normal condition of modern society. Moreover, a strict adherence to a policy which will replace our paper currency with gold and silver, will soon give us the control of the money market, and make the United States not only the commercial, but the financial center of the world.

To these remarks we add, that immigration also has again resumed something of its old activity, and now promises steady increase. But lately Lord Beaconsfield declared France and the United States to be at present the most prosperous countries in the world. Certain it is that this country has never been in a position so independent and satisfactory as now on the resumption of specie payments. It only needs that we be true to the recognized principles of political economy and finance to realize with a rapidity, which is difficult to measure, the most sanguine hopes of ourselves and of our friends.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC
AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 20, 1879, on the occasion of the Presentation of a Silver Medal to the Hon. Eli K. Price, President, in commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Foundation of the Society. 8vo, pp. 16. Philadelphia, 1879.

On this occasion a medal of silver was presented to the President, bearing on the obverse his portrait, and on the reverse the seal of the Society; a copy of which is given in the text of the pamphlet. The crest is a precise copy of an Athenian owl from a coin of the Greek city. The dies for the medal were cut by William H. Key of the United States Mint. The presentation address was delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Brenton, to which fitting reply was made by Hon. Eli K. Price; and the formal proceedings closed with remarks by Mr. Charles Henry Hart. The value of medals in permanent and faithful transmission of physical individuality was strongly asserted.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE
OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT
TO INHERITANCE AMONG THE ANCIENT MEX-
ICANS. By AD. F. BANDELIER. From the
Eleventh Report of the Peabody Museum.
8vo. Printed at the Salem Press. Salem, 1878.

In this second paper, by the skillful hand which prepared that on the warlike organization

of the Mexican tribes, the results are presented of an investigation of their progress in so much of political economy as related to the tenure and distribution of the soil, accompanied, as in the preceding paper, with abundant notes from all accessible authorities. Joseph de Acosta, the Jesuit father, a learned authority of the sixteenth century, asserts that the relations and memories of the Mexicans do not go back farther than four hundred years; and Mr. Bandelier concurs in the opinion that the twelfth century is the limit of definite tradition. Behind this period it is only known that Mexico was overrun by sedentary as well as nomadic tribes of a common origin, whose earlier home lay to the north of Mexican territory. Of the sedentary tribes, the Toltecs were the most conspicuous, yet they had not reached the condition of a State; political society, based on territory or landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal, and in no way feudal, as has been held. Savage tribes roamed over the high table-lands, living by the chase in nomadic fashion, while small groups, from the same "North" which gave them origin, gradually settled in the beautiful valley below, near the watersheds in its center. These independent groups all spoke dialects closely related to that of the Toltecs, their predecessors. In the confused history of the principal of these tribes, the Tezcucans, Tecpanecans and Chalcas, it can only be discovered that the first two had each one and the latter two head war chiefs, elected for life, assisted by councils elected by the people; while the distribution of land, far from being by feudal tenure, was ordered by the Calpulli or kinships, who dwelt under one common roof, and was communal living. Such was the tenure in the period of the greatest power of Mexico. Nowhere was the notion of public domain or governmental lands current among the tribes. The entire groups were entitled the Soil of the Tribe. Precisely similar was the tenure of lands in Peru when the Spaniards first noticed their customs.

When Cortes conquered the territory it was raised by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI., May 4, 1493, to a domain of the Spanish throne, and granted to the King of Spain as a perpetual fief. Then the old order of occupation of the soil, for the idea of ownership never entered the Indian mind, was changed for a feudatory tenure, to which they ignorantly assented. After the fall of the pueblo of Mexico, Cortes established the system of Repartimientos, a mode established in the life-time of Columbus, under a Patent of July 22, 1497, which authorized him to distribute lands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership, which was later added to by an act of Columbus, on his own

authority, to the effect that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them; the beginning of Mexican serfdom.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST UNITED

STATES FLAG AND THE PATRIOTISM OF BETSY ROSS, THE IMMORTAL HEROINE THAT ORIGINATED THE FIRST FLAG OF THE UNION. Dedicated to the Ladies of the United States. By Col. J. FRANKLIN REIGART. 8vo, pp. 25. Harrisburg, Penn., 1878.

Some years since William J. Canby, the grandson of Mrs. John (Betsy) Ross of Philadelphia, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper on the Centennial Anniversary of the American Flag, in which he claimed that his grandmother was the first maker of the Stars and Stripes. She lived in Arch street, and was for many years engaged in the business of flag making. In this monograph Col. Reigart asserts that her bright colored tapestry, ornamental handiwork and curtains in primary colors attracted the notice of the members of Congress, and that at the request of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Robert Morris and Col. George Ross, her brother-in-law, she designed and made the first flag of the United States, which was approved and adopted by the committee and Congress. In addition to this, Betsy Ross first gave a name to our youthful country by marking on her flags the "United States of America." In the paper we find no authority for these statements, nor yet any confirmation in the histories of the Flag by Preble and Hamilton. Nevertheless Col. Reigart insists that the "statue" of Betsy, "surrounded by a group of her daughters and nieces, cutting, sewing and making the Star-Spangled Banners, must soon grace the Capitol of our nation, and the patriotic ladies of America will design, erect and pay for it. To the account are appended sundry patriotic songs and appeals said to have been written and circulated by Mrs. Ross during the revolution from her shop in Philadelphia. On the cover of the pamphlet is a colored fac-simile of the first flag, and within a portrait of "Mrs. Betsy Ross the Author," with scissors and bunting, busy at her work.

THE HISTORY OF DARTMOUOH COL-

LEGE. By BAXTER PERRY SMITH. 8vo, pp. 474. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. [The Riverside Press.] Cambridge, 1878.

"The germ of Dartmouth College," writes the author of this history of the famous institution, which bears upon its rolls the illustrious names of Daniel Webster and Salmon P. Chase,

"was a deep-seated and long-cherished desire of the foremost of its founders to elevate the Indian race in America." The idea was not American, nor was its practical application reserved for the eighteenth century. In 1619 an unknown hand conveyed to Sir Edwin Sandys five hundred pounds, to be used by the Virginia Company for the education of Indian youths in the English language and the Christian religion. A college was contemplated, but abandoned in consequence of the Indian massacre of 1622. In 1691 part of the estate of Robert Boyle, the Christian philosopher, was given by his executors to William and Mary's College. Boyle had been the Governor of a company incorporated for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians of New England. But the interest in the conversion of the natives was chiefly confined to their residence at college, which gave material aid and comfort to their white brethren. In 1729 George Berkeley came to America and settled at Newport, Rhode Island. He had the promise of aid from the Government to a college for the education of Indian youth as missionaries. The money promised was not supplied, and he returned to England, whence he made generous donations to Yale College of books and the rental of his Rhode Island farm. In 1734 Rev. John Sergeant made a practical beginning in missionary work among the Stockbridge Indians.

Eleazer Wheelock, whom Mr. Smith styles the leading founder of Dartmouth College, was born of New England parentage at Windham in 1711. He was graduated from Yale College in 1733, and ordained pastor of the Second Congregational Society in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1735, and soon became interested in the Indians, to whom, as his paying congregation were only able to pay him half his salary, he resolved to devote one-half of his time. In 1755, with some generous friends, he established a small charity school near his residence, and in 1761 received an allowance of twelve pounds each, for the education of six children of the Six Nations, from the General Court of Massachusetts.

In 1763 Wheelock's first conception of a college is found in a letter to General Amherst, the hero of the French war, in which he proposes a plan for the establishment of a college on a tract of land, fifteen or twenty miles square, on the west side of the Susquehanna river. In March, 1764, he made an appeal to the Earl of Dartmouth, whom Whitfield named the Daniel of the Age, in behalf of the Indian charity school he was then directing with such occasional aid as he could secure. At Whitfield's suggestion he sent out Samson Oocom, a Mohegan, who had been carefully trained as a schoolmaster and preacher. Oocom preached in London "with acceptance," and was presented to

Lord Dartmouth and the King. While the feelings and sympathy of Lord Dartmouth were being enlisted in England, the support of Sir William Johnson, who exercised great influence over the Six Nation Confederacy, was also engaged, and through his agency Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk, was sent to Wheelock's Indian school. Sir William Johnson, no doubt for diplomatic reasons, opposed the plan of a school on the Susquehanna, and was averse to its establishment near the headquarters of the Six Nations. Governor Wentworth offered a tract in the western part of New Hampshire, a township six miles square.

In December, 1769, the incorporation was completed. As an evidence of the catholic spirit of the foundation, it need only be cited that three of the original trustees were nominally Episcopalians, and the remaining nine nominally Congregationalists, although some with Presbyterian tendencies. The name of Dartmouth was chosen by Dr. Wheelock without any conference with the distinguished nobleman. The Coos region in the township of Hanover, on the Connecticut river, was selected as the site, and here Dr. Wheelock built his log hut in the summer of 1770. Other plain buildings were put up, and in the late fall he, with his family and thirty students, English and Indians, all designed for the Indian service, were removed into the wilderness. Such were the modest beginnings of Dartmouth College.

Dr. Wheelock's narratives supply the best information as to the progress of the college in Indian culture. His chief reliance for pupils was on the Canadian tribes. The Mohawk tribes, the Oneidas excepted, were opposed to his plan. From 1773 to 1775 he had from sixteen to twenty-one Indian out of one hundred students. The war was a serious embarrassment to the President. He died in the midst of it on the 24th of April, 1779. The historian says of him, that "he was eminent as a scholar—he was eminent as an orator—he was eminent as a teacher—he was eminent in affairs—he was eminent as a patriot—but beyond and above all that religion was the mainspring of his entire life, the real source of all his success.

He was succeeded in the Presidency by his son, John Wheelock, during whose term of office occurred the great "Dartmouth Controversy." A difference of views as to the extent of interposition the State was entitled to in the affairs of the college, aggravated by opposing religious views, and widening during ten years of personal contact, ended in the removal of President Wheelock in 1815 by the Board of Trustees.

Next in order followed Rev. Francis Brown as President. His term of office was the period of contest between the college and the State. A political revolution in the State was its immediate result. In his message to the Legislature,

Governor Plumer in 1816 repudiated the report of the committee of the Legislature of the previous year, which announced that there was no ground for State interference in the college government, condemned the charter as savoring of monarchical ideas, and asserted the right of State supervision. This message was communicated to Jefferson, and approved by him as correct and republican in principle. The Legislature supported the Governor, the Trustees resisted, the State courts were appealed to, and the validity of the Act of the Legislature sustained, but an appeal being taken on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States, the cause was again tried. Webster appeared for the college, making one of his celebrated forensic arguments, and the Judges, Chief Justice Marshall presiding, reversed the judgment of the State court.

We cannot follow the sketch through the later administrations of Presidents Dana, Tyler, Smith and Bartlett. The reader will find in them nothing that is not creditable to Dartmouth, and will gain from the perusal of this interesting volume sufficient evidence that in the turmoil of politics and the hurry of our practical American life, our institutions of learning have maintained the dignity and independence of American culture. The book is adorned with a number of excellent photographs of the college worthies.

THE PEDIGREE AND HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY DERIVED FROM ODIN, THE FOUNDER OF SCANDINAVIA. B. C. 70. Involving a period of eighteen centuries, and including fifty-five generations down to General George Washington, First President of the United States. By ALBERT WELLES. Royal 8vo, pp. 370. SOCIETY LIBRARY. New York, 1879.

The introduction of this inquiry was noticed in the last number of the Magazine [III. 526] from advanced sheets. The volume is now before us. In addition to the extended pedigree, the value of which must be decided by those who have made a study of this branch of historical investigation, there is an appendix, containing what the editor calls scraps of history in regard to members found in the descent from Odin.

Scattered through the volume will be found numerous items of interest connected with the personal history of the English and American Washingtons, and a great variety of illustrations, consisting of an illumination of the arms of Washington and impressions from a great variety of known plates here for the first time brought together. The book is printed in the best manner, and forms a valuable addition to Washington literature.

It was not until the year 1792 that Washington began to make inquiries as to his English ancestry. He then addressed a letter to Garter King at Arms, the reply to which has been shown to us by Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, the widow of Lewis W. Washington. In this letter he mentions the marriage of Lawrence Washington, of Soulgrave, in the County of Northampton, Esquire, and Margaret, daughter of William Butler of Sussex, and adds that some years before an American gentleman had shown him a "Seal with the Arms of Butler engraved thereon," which he told him had been received from General Washington. The remaining information we are not at liberty to use, but it is soon to be made public by the owner of the letter in question.

GENEALOGY OF THE TILLEY FAMILY.

Compiled by H. HAMMETT TILLEY. 8vo., pp. 79. JOHN P. SANBORN, Newport, R. I., 1878.

This is a record of the family of William Tilley, who emigrated to America from England about the year 1660, and settled in Boston in that year. He was by occupation a rope-maker, and is said to have been the second in that trade, the business of rope-making having been set up in Boston by one John Harrison about 1641. The Tilleys were good people, even in that early day the widow of the rope-maker marrying Judge Sewall in 1718. Encouraged in his business, the rope-maker sent to England for three of his cousins, William, John and James, who came over at his call, and after a short stay in Boston, settled respectively, William in Newport, John in New York, and James in New London. The volume before us gives, first, a careful record of the descendants of William, of Newport; second, of those of the second brother John, in New York, in whose line was the Honorable Samuel Leonard Tilley, late the urbane and accomplished Lieutenant-Governor of the Dominion of Canada. Of the third brother, James, of New London, the record is brief and incomplete.

The name of Tilley is supposed to be French. It is found on the roll of the companies of William the Conqueror. A plate of the arms of the English family prefaces the genealogy.

CHARLTON (MASS.) HISTORICAL SKETCHES. Rev. ANSON TITUS, Jr. Reprinted from the Southbridge Journal. 8vo. pp. 28. Southbridge, 1877.

There is not much to interest the antiquary in this town sketch. The hard-working people did not leave much behind them. The earliest recorded burial is not earlier than 1744. The cemeteries which are described are nearly all of the present century.

ON THE ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS. By AD. F. BANDELLER. Reprinted from the Tenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum. 8vo. Cambridge, 1877.

From the pages of this excellent pamphlet we learn that although the Mexicans proper, better known as the Aztecs, were of the highest order of sedentary Indians, still warfare, and not agriculture, was their chief occupation. Spreading from their lake center, they lived upon the produce and industrial resources of subjected tribes. So completely was their time engaged in defensive, if not offensive war with their neighbors, upon whom they lived, that if there were no war they considered themselves idle. Like the Spartans, they were trained to arms from infancy, and the standing army included every able-bodied man in the tribe. Yet, strange to say, while the fear of the latent power of the tribe was equal to its domination over the conquered tribes, somewhat as the Mohawks over their neighbors, yet when Cortes made his daring seizure of Montezuma, there was no organized body of guards to protect his person. The defensive armor of the Mexicans, their aggressive weapons, the organization of their forces, and their mode of operations in the field are all carefully described, and the authorities given for every statement; the whole a model of archaeological research. The final pages narrate the manner of the battle of Otumpau, fought on the 8th July, 1520, between Cortes and the pueblo of Tlaxcallan, the day of skirmish, the ambush on the plains of Apan, from which the Spaniards cut their way with the courage of despair, and the process of dismemberment, by which Cortes overcame the Nahuatl Confederacy of the Valley of Mexico. The story closes with the siege of the pueblo of Mexico, which illustrates Indian defensive warfare in its highest stage; their resistance standing unparalleled in the history of Indian warfare, and their fortitude and tenacity demonstrating that they acted together by free common consent, and were organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free military democracy.

A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF DR. ARTEMAS BULLARD, OF SUTTON, AND HIS DESCENDANTS. By WILLIAM SUMNER BARTON, of Worcester. 8vo, pp. 22. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester, 1878.

The writer informs us that in the genealogical history of the "Descendants of several ancient Puritans," published by Rev. Abner Morse in 1857, there is an interesting account of the Bullard families in New England. Among the first

planters of New England there appear to have been four of the name, who emigrated about 1630 from England, and were of the first settlers of Watertown. Robert was unquestionably the ancestor of the Sutton family of the name, which particularly engages Mr. Barton's attention in this monograph.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS UPON THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MORTON MCMICHAEL AS EDITOR, PUBLIC OFFICER, AND CITIZEN. By JOHN W. FORNEY, Thursday, April 17, 1879. 8vo, pp. 16. SHERMAN & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

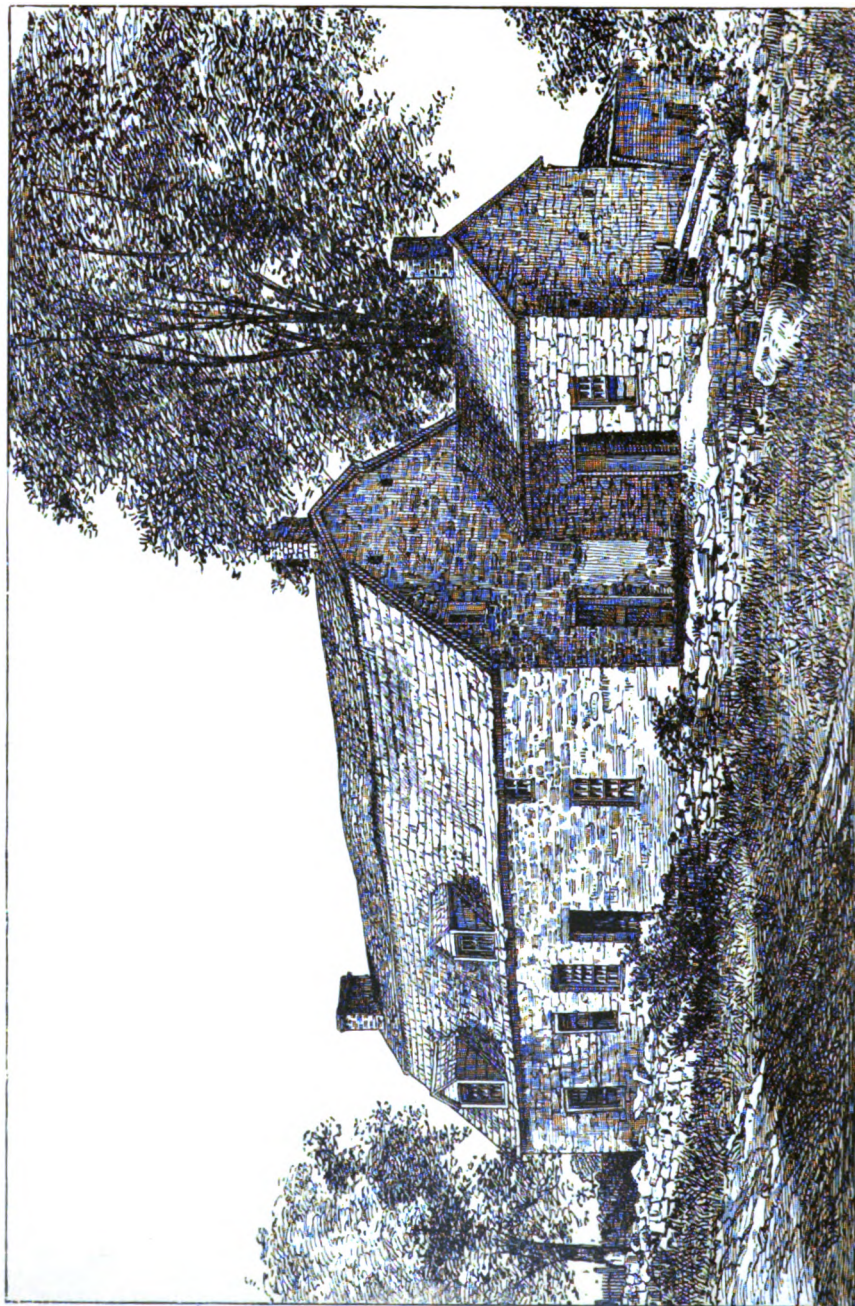
Tacitus said of Agricola that he was happy in the occasion of his death. So it may be said of any man, the occasion of whose death calls into action the warm heart and accomplished hand of Mr. Forney to do honor his memory. McMichael was a noble character; full of generous impulses, vigorous, intelligent, in every sense a man; a leader of men. To all these characteristics full justice is rendered, and with the fervor of a friendship of nearly half a century.

FAMILY RECORD OF SILAS BROWN, JR. By A. C. BROWN. 8vo, pp. 38. Printed by GEORGE MACNAMARA, New York, 1879.

Silas Brown, Jr., a record of whose descendants is here given, was the eldest son of Silas Brown, Jr., who was at one time in Captain Jonathan Wate's company in Colonel Ezra Meigs' regiment, and took part in the Saratoga campaign. Silas Brown was the son of John Brown, who is surmised by the genealogist to have been the son of James Brown, of Deerfield. Nothing more is known of him than that he resided in Hatfield in 1669, married Remembrance Brooks at Springfield in 1674, removed to Deerfield about 1683, and went thence to Colchester, Connecticut.

A RECORD OF REMARKABLE EVENTS IN MARLBOROUGH AND VICINITY. By CYRUS FELTON. 8vo, pp. 24, No. 1. STILLMAN B. PRATT, Marlborough, Mass., 1879.

A second title informs the reader that within the limits of these pages there is presented a record of four hundred and fifty events, consisting of accidents, balls, celebrations, dedications, exhibitions, fires, gifts, holidays, incidents, jubilees, knacks, lectures, musters, necrologies, ordinations, picnics, quarrels, raisings, shows, tornadoes, undertakings, vendues, weather extremes, years, zero days, etc. These are arranged by months and days, thus: January events, February events, etc.



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CIVIL STATUS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

ALONG the questions of religion, and of the rights of England before the Revolution, there was one which was equally embarrassing was that of religion. The religious and ecclesiastical beliefs, customs, and ecclesiastical polity of the colonies were of a remarkable variety and undistinctness of type. In Britain and in America concerning the precise nature of the political bond which united the two countries, even the principles of secular law rests in a doubt of religious law. Within a few years that a solution for the same problem had been found in countries that have retained their connection with the old world to the present day. In the colonial time and in the present time, New York, it was a question surrounded with peculiar difficulties. The question was more than in any other American province it was a question of serious trouble. Elsewhere the type of religious belief, and the type of religion among the settlers determined the question, so far as it could be determined through the action of colonial legislatures. In Virginia and in Carolina, where the majority of the population adhered to the Church of England, that Church was established by colonial law, and the ecclesiastical order prevailed. In Massachusetts and in New England, where the majority was recognized and colored by the civil power. New York, however, during the colonial period, was distinctively a Presbyterian province. The position belonged of right to the Presbyterian Church, and the civil power, and now actually they stood related to the State. The points to be noted in the present paper

The period under consideration may be divided into two periods of about seventy-five years each—the first in the seventeenth century, and the other in the eighteenth century. The first period, 1625, when the permanent colonization of the province was begun, and



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CIVIL STATUS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

AMONG the questions in debate, under the colonial system of England before the American Revolution, one of the most embarrassing was that touching the relation of the various ecclesiastical bodies, existing in the colonies, to the State. That "remarkable variety and indistinctness of opinion," which prevailed both in Britain and in America, concerning the precise nature of the political bond which united the two countries, extended beyond the sphere of secular interests into that of religion. Indeed it is only within a few years that a solution for the same problem has been found in countries that have retained their connection with Great Britain to the present day. In the colonial time, and in the province of New York, it was a question surrounded with peculiar difficulties, and here, perhaps more than in any other American province, it was productive of serious trouble. Elsewhere the type of religious belief prevailing among the settlers determined the question, so far as it could be determined through the action of colonial legislatures. In Virginia and in Carolina, where the majority of the population adhered to the Church of England, that Church was established by colonial law. The Congregational order prevailed in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, and was recognized and enforced by the civil power. New York, throughout the colonial period, was distinctively a Presbyterian province. What position belonged of right to the Presbyterian churches in this province, and how actually they stood related to the State:—these are the points to be noticed in the present paper.

The period under consideration may be divided approximately into two terms of about seventy-five years each—the one term lying in the seventeenth century, and the other in the eighteenth. From the year 1623, when the permanent colonization of the province was commenced,

until the close of the seventeenth century, liberty of conscience and equal protection under the law were enjoyed by the various denominations of Protestant Christians. This age of religious toleration was introduced by the Dutch West India Company, and it continued throughout the administrations of the first five English Governors. When in 1664 England took possession of New Netherland, the Reformed Church of Holland had occupied the ground for more than forty years as the Church by law established, and the Church representing the religious belief of almost the entire population. By the articles of surrender the Dutch were secured in the enjoyment of their religious privileges, and in the possession of their ecclesiastical property, and for thirty years more these rights remained unimpaired. The laws imposed upon the province by the Duke of York, to whom the territories taken from the Dutch were conveyed by his brother, Charles II., provided for the building of churches and the induction and support of ministers, but gave no advantage to one religious body over another.

The Reformed Dutch Church, however, though no longer in connection with the State, retained a commanding importance. The English Governors themselves occasionally recognized it as a *quasi* establishment. Thus Governor Nicolls in 1665 directed the authorities of the city of New York to levy a tax for the payment of the salaries due to the Dutch ministers. His successor, Lovelace, in 1670 declared that he regarded the Dutch Church, which was "found established" by Nicolls and himself, as in Albany the parish church, entitled to support through taxation or otherwise. The Dutch Church of New York was the very first to obtain from the Governor a charter of incorporation. For generations the population of Dutch birth or descent, largely outnumbering the English both in city and in country, clung to their ancestral faith; and long after Holland had lost her possessions on these shores the flourishing congregations of New York, Albany, Kingston, Schenectady, Poughkeepsie and other places still comprised the bulk of the religious element in the province. In close connection with these churches a few congregations of Huguenot refugees sprang up, the principal one of which, the French Church in New York, was strong and wealthy, when the English-speaking congregations of that city were yet in their infancy. By the end of the century the churches in the province numbered not far from forty. Fifteen of these were Dutch, four were French, thirteen were of New England origin, one was a German Reformed congregation. All but three or four were

Presbyterian. A Lutheran Church had been founded in New York and another in Albany. A service, conducted by the chaplain of the English forces, and held in the Dutch Church in the fort for the benefit of the Governor and the garrison, was the only Anglican service observed in the province until the erection of Trinity Church in the year 1697.

The policy of toleration pursued by the early Governors of New York was approved from the very first by the Colonial Legislature of the province. In 1683 the representatives of the people met for the first time in General Assembly. The Charter of Liberties enacted by this body, and approved by the Governor and his Council, provided that all persons professing faith in God by Jesus Christ should have entire freedom of conscience. It was also expressly declared that the Christian Churches existing in the province should forever be "held and reputed as privileged churches, and enjoy all their former freedoms of their religion in Divine worship and Church discipline." This charter was confirmed by the Duke of York. Three years later the same personage, upon his accession to the throne as King James II., repealed it. The fact remains, however, that the popular branch of the provincial government had pronounced itself from the first in favor of the rights of conscience.

The period of religious freedom closed with the century. A change in the policy of the Governors had been foreshadowed some years earlier. Indications of such a change appeared in connection with a scheme for the better support of ministers in the several towns of the province. The expediency of some provision for this purpose was acknowledged, and the Assembly showed no unwillingness to take action with reference to it. But the growing disposition of the Governors to interfere in matters of religion was calculated to awaken apprehension, and there were grounds for suspecting that they designed to make way for an ecclesiastical establishment. In 1691 Governor Sloughter suggested to the Assembly the passage of an Act for the suitable maintenance of the ministry in every town. Instructions were accordingly given for the drawing up of a bill to provide for the settling of ministers and the raising of a support for them in each place consisting of forty families and upwards. The bill as prepared reflected the views of the Governor, but for some reason it failed to meet the approval of the House, and was rejected. Orders were given for the preparation of another bill, and at the subsequent session the subject came up for consideration, but no definite action was taken until the year 1693, after the

arrival of Governor Fletcher. On the 19th of September in that year a bill was introduced into the House, entitled "An Act for Settling a Ministry, and Raising a Maintenance for them, in the City of New York, County of Richmond, Westchester and Queen's County." This Act was passed on the 22d of September. Its application, as the title shows, was limited, and it contained no reference to a particular religious denomination. It applied to only four of the ten counties of the province. It provided that in each of certain specified localities in these counties—in the city of New York, on Staten Island, and in the towns of Westchester, Rye, Jamaica and Hempstead—ministers should be settled within one year after the publication of the Act; and that for the maintenance of these ministers, as well as for the relief of the poor, a tax should be laid on the respective places. The choice of ministers was left to certain officers, to be elected by the people of each place. At the same time it was declared "that all the former Agreements, made with Ministers throughout this Province," should "continue and remain in their full Force and Virtue; any Thing contained" therein "to the contrary" thereof "in any wise notwithstanding." (Laws of New York, I. 18-20.)

No departure from the course hitherto pursued in the treatment of the various religious bodies appeared in this legislation. It was in the same line of religious toleration with the rules of the Dutch Company and the laws of the Duke of York. Under the Duke's code a minister, desiring to officiate within the government, was required to produce testimonials to the Governor that he had received ordination either from some Protestant bishop *or ministers* within some part of his Majesty's dominions, or the dominions of any foreign prince of the Reformed Religion." "For the making and proportioning the Levies and Assessments for building and repairing the Churches, Provision for the poor, maintenance for the Minister, as well as for the more orderly managing of all Parochiall affairs in other cases exprest, Eight of the most able Men of each Parish" were "by the major part of the Householders of the said Parish, chosen to be Overseers, out of the which Number the Constable and the aforesaid Overseers shall yearly make choice of two of the said number to be Church-wardens."

The Ministry Act of 1693 clearly follows the earlier code in the mention of "church-wardens," and simply substitutes the term "vestrymen" for the term "overseers." Yet Governor Fletcher argued with the Assembly in 1695 against an interpretation of that Act which would allow the Vestry of New York to call a minister dissenting from

the Church of England,—“There is no Protestant Church admits of such officers as Church Wardens and Vestry-men but the Church of England.”

Assuredly nothing could have been further from the intention of the Assembly which passed the Act than the establishment of the Church of England in the province. A solitary member of the Assembly was an adherent of the Church of England; and the congregation that met on Sunday after service in the Dutch Church in the fort was the only Anglican congregation in the entire province. “The people,” said Lewis Morris, afterwards Chief Justice of the province, “were generally dissenters, and averse to the Religion of the Church of England; and when the Act was past that provided for the Maintenance of Ministers abovesaid, it was to settle an Orthodox Ministry, which words, were a Governor a Dissenter and would induct Dissenters, would be as favourable in favour of them as the Church; and the people, who ne’er could be brought to settle an Episcopal Clergy in direct terms, fancied they had made an effectual provision for Ministers of their own persuasion by this Act.” (Correspondence G. P. S.)

Yet upon this Act the claim set up afterward for the Church of England, as “by law established” in the province, was based. Colonel Fletcher, the new Governor, had entered upon his office determined to bring this result about. He endeavored to procure the insertion of a clause in the bill, before its passage, giving the Governor the right to approve and collate or induct ministers into the parishes to which they might be called; a provision which would of course have carried with this right that of refusing to approve and collate. The Assembly declined to make this amendment; the bill was passed without it, Fletcher himself signing the Act. But though disappointed with its provisions, he made effectual use of the law by an arbitrary and illegal wresting of its true purpose. For seventy years or more the Governors of the province of New York exercised the power, which the Assembly had expressly denied them, of inducting ministers into the parishes, under this Act for settling a Ministry. Four years after the passage of the bill a charter was granted, creating the parish of Trinity Church in the city of New York, and assigning to the rector of that parish and his successors all the benefit of the Act of 1693; and thenceforward, until the period of the Revolution, the inhabitants of the city were taxed for the support of the rector, precisely as though the Act had been designed for the sole advantage of his particular denomination. In 1704 Lord Cornbury succeeded in procuring the passage of an Act

"for granting sundry Privileges and Powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York, of the Communion of the Church of England, as by Law established." This Act provided that the rector and his successors in office should receive the sum of one hundred pounds yearly, raised and levied upon the inhabitants of the said city, for the maintenance of a good, sufficient Protestant Minister, by virtue of an Act entitled An Act for Settling a Ministry.

Lord Bellomont, the next Governor, looked with little favor upon his predecessor's scheme for the setting up of a State Church in a part of the province. Writing to the Lords of Trade, he complained that "the late Governor" had "made advantage to divide the people by supposing a Dutch and English interest to be different here." "Under the notion," he continued, "of a Church of England, to be put in opposition to the Dutch and French churches established here," Fletcher had "supported a few rascally English, who" were "a scandall to their nation and the Protestant religion." This plain-spoken nobleman, however, was not prepared to grant the full measure of religious liberty which the people of his government craved and were disposed to claim. Short as the term of his administration was, there occurred an opportunity for Lord Bellomont to negative such a claim. His own account of the matter is briefly given in a letter to the Lords of Trade, July 22, 1699: "The House of Representatives sent up a Bill to me and the Councill for settling a Dissenting Ministry in that Province, but it being contrary to his Majesty's instructions, and besides having been credibly informed that some of those Ministers do hold strange erroneous opinions in matters of Faith and Doctrine, I would not give the Assent to that Bill, but rejected it." (N. Y. Col. Documents, IV. 325, 536.)

The precise form of the bill thus rejected—owing to an unfortunate break in the Journal of the Provincial Assembly—cannot be ascertained, but its general character may be inferred from the context of existing records. A petition of "the civil and military officers of Queen's County" was presented in April, 1699, to the Assembly, and was referred to the Committee "of Grievances," which reported April 13th as follows: "That they examined the Petition, . . . and are humbly of Opinion, That every Town or Parish within this Province, consisting of the Number of 40 Families, shall have full Power by the major Part of said Inhabitants, in each Town or Parish, to call and settle a Protestant Minister among them; and all the Inhabitants within the said Town or Parish, shall equally contribute to his Maintenance,

according to Proportion, by Way of Rate." The committee, of which Abraham Gouverneur was chairman, recommended that a bill to this effect be brought in. Such a bill was prepared, and after a second reading, April 28th, was committed to the Committee of Grievances. On the 1st of May that committee reported: "That they have . . . examined the Bill for ye settlement of ministers, &c., & have agreed to ye same, with these amendments: That a proviso be added that this Act nor any clause therein Contained, shall extend to ye hinderance of ye Dutch and French churches establisht in this Province, nor Constraine ye Citty of New York, ye Citty of Albany, ye County of Ulster or Kings county to call any other ministers unless at their pleasure." The proposed amendments were agreed to, and on the 4th of May the "Bill for the settlement and support of ministers & schoolmasters & building & repairing meeting houses within this Province" was passed and sent up for approval. (Journals of Assembly, MSS., Albany.)

The report of the Council upon the bill states very clearly the grounds upon which it was rejected. "His Excellency the Governor having been pleased," say they, "to Communicate unto us his Instructions Relating to the Settlement of Religion in this province, we are humbly of opinion that by the said Instructions your Excellency ought not to passe the said Bill. But we doe humbly offer the Reasonableness and our Readynesse to Joyn with the Representatives of this province in an Adresse to your Excellency humbly to Represent to his most Sacred Majtie the State and condition of this province, as to the matters in the said Bill contened, and that his Majesty of his Great piety and wonted Clemency would be graciously pleased to allow, *untill some better order* can be in this province had for the Settlement of *a more orthodox Ministry*, That such Ministers of the Presbyterian and Independant Congregation as are allready settled in the several Towns of this Province may be continued and mainteined according to such agreement as hath been made by the major part of the people of such Towns, and that all the Inhabitants within the bounds of such Towns may be equally and justly Assessed according to their several Estates for and towards the payment and Support of such Ministry; and that such other Towns who are well able to maintain a Minister, and have none within this Province, may be encouraged and obliged to Establish and Ascertain a maintenance, and use their Endeavours to get Ministers, that God's word may be preached and His Ordinances practized amongst us, and that Churches, Schools and parsonage houses may be built and Repaired throughout this province." (Journal of Council.)

This language was not suited to inspire confidence with regard to the future; nevertheless the conduct of the Governors for the time being was kindly and tolerant in the main. Though disposed to meddle sometimes officiously in their affairs, they recognized in various ways the rights of ministers and congregations. Both ministers and individual members of churches—Dutch, French, German and English—brought their grievances before the Governor. Orders were issued for the payment of salaries in arrears. Permission was given to collect money for the building of churches. Peiret, the Huguenot pastor of New York, received with Vesey a pension out of the revenues of the province. The Act of 1693, as construed by the people themselves, was in operation. "Dissenting Ministers were settled" under it in various places without let or hindrance. (Doc. Hist. of N. Y., III. 198, etc.; Correspondence G. P. S.)

The second term of our colonial history begins with the eighteenth century. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was formed in England. One principal design of this organization—the only one indicated by its charter—was the providing of ministers for the British Colonies beyond the seas. Representations were at once made to the Society of the great destitutions of this province. There are some Calvinistic congregations on Long Island and elsewhere, but "there is no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great Continent of New York Province, except at New York town." (Collections P. E. Hist. Soc., p. xiii.) Missionaries were accordingly sent over, and it became the care of the Governor to find or to make places for them within the four counties especially to which the Act for Settling a Ministry applied. Nearly all the towns named in that Act already possessed houses of worship; in several of them the inhabitants had set apart lands for glebes, and had built parsonage houses. Lord Cornbury, equally zealous with his predecessor, Fletcher, for the spread of the Church of England, assumed the right that Fletcher had claimed to induct ministers into parishes, and under the color of a law that had no existence put the missionaries of the Society in possession of churches, glebes and parsonages. This was done, or attempted, at Westchester and Eastchester, Rye and Bedford, Jamaica, Newtown and Hempstead. In Rye, only of all these towns, no church had yet been built; but a tax was levied upon the inhabitants for its erection, and meanwhile the house and lands which had been provided for a minister, and held by a succession of pastors, were taken for the missionary.

That this course was not in harmony with the avowed design of the Society at home is very certain, and we may well believe that it was not inspired by the excellent men who were most zealous for the establishment and success of that great benevolent institution. The correspondence of the Society shows that the importance of missionary work among the Indians and heathen, and in settlements where no provision existed for the religious instruction of the people, was urged upon its laborers as their chief work. Archbishop Secker at a later day repelled the charge that the Society had been diverted from this aim—"that we have unwarrantably changed our object, from the propagation of Christianity and Protestantism, to the propagation of one form of it, in opposition to other Protestants; and make the gaining of proselytes from these our Chief business, which was not designed to be any part of it: nor was attempted, they say—I want to know how truly—by our predecessors in the Society for many years after its erection." "We must be extremely cautious," he adds, "how we appoint new Missions where Presbyterians or Independents have Assemblies." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 347.)

It would have been happy for the cause of religion here if such wise caution had been observed; but Lord Cornbury and his advisers were governed by no such considerations. We have the unimpeachable testimony of Colonel Morris, a member and a zealous friend of the Society, as to the methods used and their effects. "I think," he writes to the Secretary about the beginning of the year 1708, "in West Chester, East Chester, Hempstead, New Town, in [and?] Jamaica dissenting Ministers were settled. . . . and being afterwards put out of them by the Missionaries of the Society, supplying those places, made them think themselves unjustly dealt with, and very much increast their prejudices." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

The oppressive nature of these proceedings is better known in some of the cases that have been mentioned than in others. Cornbury's doings at Jamaica, perhaps more than any other occurrences of his disgraceful administration, brought infamy upon his name. Bartow, a missionary of the Society, with the Governor's approval, took summary possession of the church, ousting the Presbyterian pastor from his pulpit, and locking the door upon the people. But the minister still held the parsonage. It was the best house in the town. Cornbury, who had left the city during the prevalence of an epidemic, asked leave to occupy it. Consent was given; and, when the noble lord came to leave, his host was denied admittance, and the parsonage and

glebe were given up to the missionary. Thus by force and by treachery a congregation was deprived of house and lands, their title to which was indisputable. There were peculiar hardships in this case, yet the course pursued elsewhere was substantially the same. Wherever, by an untrue and unscrupulous interpretation of the Act for settling a ministry, it was possible to take the churches and the other ecclesiastical property for the missionaries, the attempt was made, and, thanks to Lord Cornbury, it was generally successful. The only instance of an utter failure was at Bedford, where the people made from the first so determined a resistance that the effort to alienate their church property was abandoned.

A policy so unjust and oppressive could not fail to produce dissatisfaction and trouble. The Governor might be arbitrary and overbearing, but his power was not without limit. Legislative assemblies and courts of justice could not be counted upon to sustain his interpretation of the law. The Assembly had from the first refused to acquiesce in Fletcher's usurpation of the right to collate ministers. The same body in 1695 declared that, under the Act for Settling a Ministry, a minister dissenting from the Church of England might lawfully be called and maintained as the parish minister of the city of New York. In 1705 Lord Cornbury endeavored to procure the enactment of laws that would at once confirm the Society's missionaries in the possession of the privileges claimed for them under the Act of 1693, and provide in a similar way for the support of ministers of the Church of England in places that were not included within the scope of that Act. "The Difficulties which some very worthy Ministers of the Church of England, have met with, in the getting the Maintenance settled upon them, by Act of General Assembly of this Province, passed in the Year 1693, moves me," said his lordship in a speech to the House, "to recommend to you the passing an Act, explanatory of the abovementioned Act, that those worthy good Men, who have ventured to come so far, for the Service of God and his Church, and the Good and Edification of the People, to the Salvation of their Souls; may not for the future be vexed, as some of them have been, but may enjoy in Quiet that Maintenance, which was by a Law provided for them. I further recommend to you the passing an Act, to provide for the Maintenance of some Ministers in some of the Towns at the East End of Long Island, where I do not find any Provision has been yet made for the propagating Religion."

Colonial legislatures had a quiet way of disposing of suggest-

ions like these. The House promptly passed a bill, entitled "An Act for the better explaining, and more effectual putting in Execution" the Act of 1693 for settling a Ministry. It did not meet the Governor's wishes. When submitted to the Council, the bill was amended and returned to the Assembly for its concurrence. The Assembly, however, refused to agree to the amendments; they were withdrawn by the Council, and the bill in its original shape became a law. The new Act was not any more than the old one an Act to establish the Church of England in four counties of the province. As little did it provide for the extension of the former Act to include the east end of Long Island. Five articles were embraced in the bill. The first made it the duty of the Justices of the Peace of each county to lay a tax on the places specified, in case that the persons appointed to this duty in the former Act should fail to perform it. The second provided that payments should be made to the incumbents at these places in the current money of the province, and not in country produce. The third related to the disposition of the fines, penalties and forfeitures that might arise. The fourth empowered the vestrymen and church wardens to "present" a minister in case of the death of an incumbent. The fifth was as follows: "Provided nevertheless, That neither this present Act of General Assembly, nor any Thing herein contained, shall be construed, or understood to extend to abridge, or take away the Indulgence, or Liberty of Conscience granted and allowed to any other Protestant Christians, by any Law, or Statute of the Realm of *England*, or of this Plantation; any Thing in this Act contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding."

An important point, however, had been yielded by the Assembly. The Act of 1705 recognized the right of the Governor—a right which the Act of 1693 did not recognize—to "induct ministers in parishes" within the counties named. (Laws of New York, Chap. CXLVI.)

Subsequent enactments of the Colonial Legislature made provision for the more effectual execution of the law, with reference to the raising of a maintenance for the ministers of the parishes. These enactments were based upon the Act of 1693. No new measure was introduced for the setting up of a State Church; but the interpretation which had been given to the original law in favor of the Anglican ministers, and particularly the rector of Trinity Church in New York, seems to have been acquiesced in by the Assembly.

The courts of justice became and long continued to be the resort of complainants. Suits at law, lasting for many years, grew out of the

seizure of the church at Jamaica. In 1727, a quarter of a century after their dispossession, the Presbyterians gained their cause, recovered the church, and had their title to the glebe lands and the parsonage confirmed. At Hempstead the right of the Anglican party to the church land was hotly disputed, and the missionary was "often threatened with an ejectionment." At Rye the Presbyterians pressed their claim from time to time, and finally, toward the middle of the century, brought a suit for the purpose of recovering at least a part of their former glebe. All this litigation, however, was insignificant compared with the strifes and contentions arising out of the attempt to collect the taxes for the support of the Anglican clergy. The vestrymen, as they were called, regarding their office as a purely secular one, refused in some instances to admit the Church of England clergymen to take part in their proceedings, and sometimes they paid over the sums raised by taxation to the Presbyterian ministers instead. (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 270.) The churches, built by the towns, continued to be regarded by the mass of the people as town property, and from time to time this theory of ownership was reduced to practice without recourse to the forms of law. While in some places the Presbyterians were successful in retaining or ultimately recovering their houses of worship, as at Bedford, Newtown and Jamaica, in other places they asserted their claim by an occasional or periodical occupation. Thus William Tennent preached for eighteen months in Eastchester church, and at Rye the Presbyterians at one time held possession of the church for nearly three years. Some of these buildings were at a late day secured by charter to the favored denomination, but it was long before they ceased to be regarded by the people as common or "union" houses of worship.

On the whole the scheme for the establishment of the Church of England in four counties of the province, under the provision of a law passed by the Provincial Assembly, was a mistake and a failure. A leading member of that Church spoke of it as an "artifice" (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 244), and the language of some who were directly concerned in the scheme is scarcely less candid. "I believe at this day," says Lewis Morris in 1711, "the Church had been in a much better position had there been no Act in her favour." (N. Y. Col. Documents, V. 323.) As well by the fraudulent construction, as by the oppressive enforcement of the law, a deep and lasting resentment was awakened against those who procured and those who profited by the abuse.

But a second and more imposing claim was advanced in the course of time in behalf of a State Church in this province. As the century

went on, it was assumed, more and more distinctly and unhesitatingly, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the mother country extended necessarily to the colonies; that wherever throughout the British Empire the authority of the Crown was exercised, there the Church of England was to be acknowledged as the Church by law established; and those who differed from that Church possessed in the colonies no other rights and immunities than such as were granted at home to Dissenters. Especially, it was held, must the claim be admitted in a province that possessed none of those rights which were peculiar to the "charter governments" of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, but was directly amenable to the Crown, and subject to the laws of England.

The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appear to have taken this ground from the first. But it became a more serious matter when a Governor, acting upon this theory, undertook to deal with Presbyterian ministers and congregations as Dissenters. The adoption of this course may be said to date from the time when a Presbyterian congregation was gathered in the city of New York. In the broader sense of the name, Presbyterianism, we have seen, had been represented in that city from the first by the Churches of Holland and France. But it was long before the adherents of the Church of Scotland came in any considerable numbers to settle in New York. Early in the eighteenth century we hear of religious services that were held in private houses; and we learn that the congregation of Trinity Church was in large part composed of those who preferred the Presbyterian order, but who worshipped there, "having no other place to go to." (Correspondence G. P. S.) It was not until the year 1715 that a regular church organization was effected by the Presbyterians of New York. (Bellamy Papers.) But in 1707 two Presbyterian ministers from Maryland, Francis Makemie and John Hampton, visited New York, and preached in that city and on Long Island. Lord Cornbury arrested them as strolling preachers. They were thrown into prison, and Makemie was indicted and tried upon the charge of having preached without being qualified or permitted, and of having used other rites and ceremonies than those of the Common Prayer. The trial resulted in his acquittal; and the Governor's course was generally, perhaps universally, condemned. Colonel Morris wrote home, lamenting "a procedure by no means warrantable, and that alarms all mankind here. My Lord's arbitrary conduct with respect to this man, and his example together, have so soured a great many, that subscriptions

are getting to build a Dissenting Meeting House in that City, and a support will be provided for one of their Ministers." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

It has been urged that the exercise of Cornbury's tyranny was not confined to Presbyterians; and it is very true that the outrages committed in the case of Makemie and Hampton were more than equalled by the cruelties inflicted upon two of the Society's own missionaries, Moore and Brookes. But what it concerns us here to notice is the line of argument pursued by the Governor and his apologists in the attempt to justify his action. At Makemie's trial the Attorney-General asserted the Queen's supremacy as Head of the Church, and read her Instructions to the Governor. Cornbury himself, writing to the Lords of Trade, sought to defend his course by reference to the Act of Toleration and to the penal statutes, thinking it "very plain by the Act of Toleration it was not intended to tolerate or allow strolling preachers, but only that those persons who dissent from the Church of England should be at liberty to serve God after their own way in the several places of their abode, without being liable to the penalties of certain laws." In this, as in his other procedures toward Non-conformists, Cornbury assumed that the Church of England, by law established in the mother country, was equally established in the provinces. None of the succeeding Governors asserted this doctrine so offensively, or enforced it in a manner so arbitrary and illegal. Yet the Presbyterians of the city of New York were subjected throughout the remainder of the colonial period to a treatment which accorded well with the principles avowed and put in practice by Cornbury.

For some years the little congregation kept together, meeting for worship in private houses. They were without a settled minister. "Mr. Vesey hath by his good conduct," wrote Colonel Heathcote in 1716, "frustrated all the designs of dissenting ministers from settling among us; a happiness," he adds, "no city in North America can boast of besides ourselves." Six months later the congregation secured a pastor. The corporation of the city granted them the use of the City Hall for their public services, until in 1719 they built a church on Wall street, near Broadway. In March, 1720, the minister and officers of the congregation presented a petition to the Legislative Council of the colony, praying for a charter of incorporation. The petition was referred to a committee who reported the next day to the President of the Council, in the Governor's absence, giving it as their opinion that the petitioners' prayer might be granted. An unexpected opposition to the measure, how-

ever, influenced the Council to defer action. Representations were made in behalf of the "Rector and Church Wardens of Trinity Church of New York against the Petition." The Council advised that the whole subject be referred to the Lords of Trade for their consideration, and here the matter was dropped.

On the arrival of Governor Burnet soon after, a second application was made to the provincial government in the autumn of the same year. The Governor himself "spoke favourably of the design," but again it was opposed, and no action was taken in the matter. Four years later, the petition having been pressed, the Council referred it to the Lords of Trade for their consideration. The legal adviser of the Board, counsellor West—afterwards Lord Chancellor in Ireland—expressed the opinion that "by law such patent of incorporation may be granted." The request, however, remained unfulfilled. Thwarted in this attempt to obtain a legal recognition, the congregation in 1730 conveyed the fee-simple of their church and ground on Wall street to a committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and by that committee the property was held in behalf of the congregation down to the period of the Revoluti

The will of Dr. John Nicoll, an honored member of the Presbyterian Church of New York, and one of its most zealous and efficient supporters, who died in 1743, contains a bequest, which illustrates the awkwardness of this arrangement for the tenure of the church property: "The rest and residue of my Estate, both real and personal, I give and bequeath to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the Principal of the College of Edinburgh, the Professor of Divinity therein, and the Procurator and Agent for the Church of Scotland for the time being, and their successors in office for ever, Trustees for the Presbyterian Church of the City of New York, to be by them or their constituents put out to interest upon good security, and the incomes thereof laid out to the best Advantage for the Relief of the poor, especially poor Widows and Orphans belonging to the said Church." (Will in Surrogate's Office, New York, signed 14 June, 1742; proved 4 October, 1743.)

But in 1759 it was thought expedient to apply for the fourth time to the Government for a charter. Serious inconvenience had arisen to the church from a lack of corporate powers. There was reason to hope that the application would meet with a more just and generous consideration on the part of the Council. Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant-

Governor, "had frequently expressed his abhorrence of the illiberal and unjust refusal which their former applications had met." But the hopes awakened were disappointed. The petition was referred to a committee, and then quietly set aside.

A fifth application was made in the year 1766. The congregation had greatly increased in numbers. It had been found necessary to enlarge the church on Wall street, and a project was now entertained for the erection of a second house of worship. "The petition of John Rodgers and Joseph Treat, the present Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of the City of New York," dated the 18th of March, 1766, sets forth the reasons for their request. The Presbyterian subjects of the Crown, Dutch and English, in the province of New York, are a great majority of the whole number of the inhabitants. There is no general establishment of rates for the building of churches and the support of ministers. The whole charge of supporting the worship of God is defrayed by voluntary contributions. Every congregation stands in need of some property for sacred uses, and to hold such property needs to be incorporated; and the petitioners are very desirous to secure their church and the cemetery adjoining, and also to acquire a further estate for the better support of the Gospel. Inasmuch as some doubt has arisen with regard to the power of the Governor to grant a charter in such a case, they make their request directly to the King in Council. In urging the expediency of granting it, they represent that the old Statutes of Uniformity do not extend to America, and that the growth and prosperity of the King's dominions in America depend greatly on the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and an impartial treatment for his Protestant subjects of every denomination, "especially those of the two Communions established in Great Britain."

The petition was duly presented, and was referred by the Royal Council to the Lords of Trade for consideration. Lord Dartmouth, the President of that Board, was known to be friendly to the object. To the Board itself the petitioners' request appeared "in the general and abstracted view of it . . . to be no ways improper or unreasonable." But before reporting upon the case the Lords of Trade saw fit to inquire of the provincial government why it was that the prayer for a charter had not been granted when presented at an earlier day. The answer of the Council of New York to this inquiry was delayed for some months, and failed to throw much light on the subject. They stated that about the same time with the Presbyterians, or shortly after, several other congregations—Lutheran, Dutch, and French—had made

similar requests for incorporation. In the case of the first of these, the Lutheran Church of New York, the committee to whom the petition was referred had reported favorably, advising that a charter be granted. But the Lords of Trade, to whom the petition was transmitted, had not seen it to be necessary or expedient to grant it. The Council now perceive no difference in the circumstances of the present petitioners whereon to ground any preference in their favour. As to the assertion contained in the petition, that "the old English Statutes of Uniformity do not extend to America," the question is one which to them seems "necessary to be determined on the highest authority, previous to any final resolution on the petition, lest such incorporations might be considered as repugnant to the provisions of those Statutes." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 846.—Doc. History of N. Y., III. 503.)

Pending the arrival of this answer from New York, the Lords of Trade had submitted the petition of the Presbyterians to the Bishop of London, who was already informed of the project through his American correspondents. The wise and moderate Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, was in turn consulted. Dr. Secker saw nothing very formidable in the request. It is "made only for one Church, not for the Presbyterians in general, as our American correspondents represented it." Some of these had "mentioned the application as a scheme to unite the Presbyterians of those countries with the Church of Scotland;—nothing of that sort appears in it. The connexion of the New York Presbyterians with that Church was occasioned only by their not being a Corporation, and will cease if they are made one." Upon the whole, however, thought Secker, the request might be denied without giving ground of complaint. If to grant it "will assist them to grow upon us and increase their superiority over us, of which in this very petition they boast, leaving them in the present state, which doth them no injury, is surely more prudent than raising them at all higher." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

At length, on the 10th of July, 1767, the Lords of Trade made their report. They concurred with the Council of New York in expressing the doubt whether his Majesty, consistently with his Coronation Oath, could create such an establishment as the petition requested in favor of the Presbyterian Church. But without presuming to decide upon a question of so great importance, they gave it as their opinion that it was "not expedient, upon principles of general policy, to comply with the prayer of this petition, or to give the Presbyterian Church

of New York any other privileges and immunities than it" was "intitled to by the laws of Toleration." (N. Y. Colonial Documents, VII. 943.)

The question whereon so grave a doubt was expressed in both countries at so late a day—only a few years before the period of the Revolution—seems to have been an open question from the first. Was the Church of England, to the securing of which as by law established in the Realm the King was pledged by his coronation oath, possessed of the same superior and exclusive rights in the colonies as at home? Did the Act of Uniformity, made in the thirteenth year of King Charles II., "and all and singular other Acts of Parliament" still "in force for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England," which by the same coronation oath the King was engaged to maintain, apply and extend to the provinces? The Government did not lack advisers, who were ready and anxious to give a categorical answer. "The Church of England being established in America," said Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, "the Independents and other Dissenters who went to settle in New England could only have a Toleration." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 365.) The opinion was echoed by humbler voices across the water. "Those who dissent from the National Religion," wrote Dr. Chandler of Elizabeth, New Jersey, "have no natural right to any degree of civil or military power." (Appeal to the Public, 109.) "By indulging the Presbyterians with Royal Charters, they will be put upon an equality with the Established Church of the Nation," said Dr. Auchmuty of New York. "I don't envy them," wrote Wetmore of Rye some years earlier, "any benefits of the Act of Indulgence, but should be sorry to see the propagation of their doctrine and sect dignified with a Royal Charter." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

But what were the "benefits of the Act of Indulgence"? And what were the provisions of the Acts of Religious Uniformity, to the penalties of which in the earlier days of the American Colonies, before the passage of that Act, non-conformists might have been thought obnoxious even in these remote dependencies of England? Until the passage of the Toleration Act in the year 1688, persons failing to repair to the parish church were subject to a fine of one shilling for each offence; or by a later statute, to a fine of twenty pounds per month; or by a still later one, to the forfeiture of all goods and two-thirds of lands and leases. Any person above sixteen years of age frequenting conventicles, or persuading others to do so, was liable to imprisonment until he should conform himself and make submission. Administering

the sacraments in any other form than that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, was punishable with a fine of one hundred pounds for each offence. Preachers at conventicles, and every person suffering a conventicle to be held in his house, barn, or yard, were fined twenty pounds.

The Act of Toleration in the first year of William and Mary, exempted Protestants dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of these laws; but there were other disabilities and restrictions under which they continued to suffer. Non-conformists were still by law denied a place in municipal corporations. Non-conformist schoolmasters were held incapable of keeping schools, and might be committed to the common gaol for three months for so doing. Dissenting ministers were relieved from former penalties only upon taking certain oaths. No dissenting place of worship could be opened until certified to the Bishop of the diocese. The system of tithes, with its "many and grievous mischiefs," was still in force. Church rates and other religious exactions remained. Some of these oppressive requirements have only been repealed in our own day, others still exist in England—all of them existed under the Toleration Act, and down to the time of the Revolution. (History of Church Laws in England, by E. Muscutt.)

Did the laws of religious uniformity, and all the provisions for the establishment of the Church of England, extend to America? Wise men might hesitate to answer positively in the affirmative. The founders of some of the colonies had left Great Britain to escape from the hardships felt under the pressure of those very laws. It was fairly objected to such a theory, that if a doubt had been started at the time of the original emigrations as to the autonomy and equality of all Protestant denominations in the colonies, the movement would have taken a very different shape, and "these immense possessions on the continent of America would not have been subject to the British Crown." It was not so clear to all, even in England, that the ecclesiastical system of that country was established by force of law in America. While one Bishop of London pronounced in favor of the doctrine, another was equally explicit in denying it. "My opinion has always been," wrote Bishop Gibson, Sherlock's predecessor, in 1735, "that the religious state of New England is founded in an equal liberty to all Protestants, none of whom can claim the name of a national establishment, or any kind of superiority over the rest." One of the highest legal authorities in the kingdom had already taken this position.

"Upon consideration of the several Acts of Uniformity that have passed in Great Britain," said counsellor West, afterwards Lord Chancellor in Ireland, "I am of opinion that they do not extend to New York; and consequently an Act of Toleration is of no use in that Province." The Government, from motives of policy, if from no superior considerations, seems to have acted in general upon this presumption. Even the Royal Instructions to the Governors of the province at first indicated such a course. The Instructions, it is true, were without the force of law. They were given, not by virtue of any Act of Parliament, but in that exercise of the royal prerogative by which the sovereign assumed sole jurisdiction over the colonies—a jurisdiction which at a later day Parliament alone was acknowledged to possess.

The commissioners sent by Charles II. in 1664 to the American Plantations were directed to avoid all interference with the religious faith and worship of the colonists. "Since the great and principal ends of all those who first engaged themselves in those Plantations, in which they have spent much time and money, was liberty of conscience, . . . you are to be very careful . . . that nothing be said or done from which the people there may think that there is any purpose in us to make any alteration in the church government, or to introduce any other form of worship among them than what they have chosen;" for "we could not imagine it probable that a confederate number of persons, who separated themselves from their own country and the religion established, principally if not only that they might enjoy another way of worship, declared unto them by their own consciences, could in so short a time be willing to return to that form of service they had forsaken." The Commissioners were enjoined to guard themselves against a class of persons that "pretend to have a great prejudice against the form of religion there professed, and as great a zeal for establishing the Book of Common Prayer, and it may be the Episcopacy itself, and the whole discipline of the Church of England." (N. Y. Col. Documents, III. 58, 59.)

The Instructions given to the succeeding Governors, Andros and Dongan, were of a similar tenor. They were to "permit all persons of what religion soever quietly to inhabit within the precincts of their jurisdiction, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, by reason of their differing opinions in matter of religion."

Other directions followed that were seemingly in conflict with this liberal policy. From Dongan's administration till that of Governor

Hunter, instructions were given, almost in a stereotype form, relative to the settlement of religion. "You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England." Governors were authorized to collate ministers to benefices, to remove them if scandalous, and to supply vacancies made by such removals. No minister shall be preferred to any ecclesiastical benefice without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all countenance and encouragement shall be given to the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop, so far as it may conveniently take place. The only material change in these instructions after Dongan's time was the substitution of the name of the Bishop of London for that of the primate. (N. Y. Col. Documents, III. 372, *seq.*)

It is quite likely that these instructions may have been inspired by a spirit which was at times very powerful in the British Court. During the reign of Queen Anne the party holding extreme views with regard to the rights and the authority of the Church—the High Church party, as it then came to be called—possessed a controlling influence with the sovereign. It would have been consistent certainly with these views to affirm the establishment of the Church of England in the colonies, and to seek through the ministers of the Crown to follow those who dissented from that Church with the same repressive measures that were in force in the mother country. Thus we have seen that Lord Cornbury's lawyer referred to the Royal Instructions in justification of his treatment of Makemie, and that Lord Bellomont before him rejected a bill for the Settlement of a "Dissenting Ministry," because "contrary to his Majesty's Instructions." And thus Fletcher, still earlier, had claimed the power, which the Assembly refused to acknowledge, to collate and suspend any minister in his government, "by virtue of their Majesty's letters patent."

On the other hand, it was urged that the Royal Instructions could only relate to ministers of the Established Church who might be settled in the provinces, asserting the Bishop's jurisdiction over them, and over the congregations that observed the ritual of that Church, and committing to the Governor certain powers for the furtherance of that jurisdiction. That such was the intent of the Government seems evident now. The earlier Governors made no attempt to carry out their instructions in the broad sense which would make them apply to

non-conformist ministers and churches. "The Government itself here at home," said the Bishop of Hereford in 1718, "sovereign as it is, and invested doubtless with sufficient authority there, hath not thought fit to interpose in this matter." . . . "In truth, the whole was left to the wisdom of the first Proprietors, and to the conduct of every private man." (Sermon preached before the Society, etc.)

The language of the Commission given by George II. in 1728 to the Bishop of London, for exercising jurisdiction in the American Colonies, seems conclusive as to the meaning of the Government. The jurisdiction given was "spiritual and ecclesiastical." It extended to "all churches in the Colonies, in which Divine Service, according to the rites of the Church of England, shall have been celebrated," and to "the rectors and incumbents belonging to said churches, and to all presbyters and deacons admitted into the holy orders of the Church of England." The Bishop had power by himself or his commissaries to visit these churches, to cite ministers, to hear and determine appeals, and to pronounce judgment, according to the laws and canons of the Church of England. By the terms of this commission, the authority given is expressly limited to the clergy and the congregations of that spiritual fold. There is no intimation of a more extensive claim. There is nothing to favor the theory of an ecclesiastical establishment by law in the provinces. (N. Y. Col. Documents, V. 849.)

But the failure of the British Government to assert such a doctrine, or to act upon it, appears still more conspicuously in connection with the question of appointing Bishops for the colonies. The Church of England congregations in America were placed at an early day, as we have seen, under the care of the Bishop of London. The inconveniences arising from such an arrangement were many and serious, and the need of a colonial episcopate was manifestly urgent. This need was strongly represented to the Government, not only by the Anglican clergy in America, but also by influential persons at Court. It was supported with arguments, which to us at the present day appear most convincing. The churches of that communion in the colonies were destitute of ministrations which they regarded as vitally important; while the ministers were shut off from the counsel, oversight and discipline which their ecclesiastical system contemplated. The Bishop of London was "a cypher." His jurisdiction amounted to very little. It was confined to the clergy. As for the people, "the Dissenters of all kinds, upon the mere foot of toleration," said Bishop Sherlock, "are in a better case." (N. Y. Col. Documents.) They were deprived

of confirmation for their youth, and, except at the cost and risk of a voyage to England, of ordination for those who felt themselves called to the Holy Ministry. The disadvantages and hardships of this condition of things continued for many years to be the burthen of appeals and remonstrances addressed to the Government. But the Government turned a deaf ear to them. No Bishops were sent, nor does it appear that there was ever a settled purpose to send any.

The refusal of a request so manifestly reasonable and wise in itself, can only be understood in one way. The Government was unprepared to assume or to proclaim the establishment of the Church of England in the colonies. The colonies were violently opposed to any such action, and jealous of any indication of a design to adopt it.

The proposal to send over a bishop would "give a great alarm to the several colonies, as it did in K. Charles y^e 2ds time, when there came over Petitions and addresses with all violence imaginable." (Observations of the Bishop of London regarding a Suffragan for America, Dec., 1707.—New York Col. Documents, V. 29.)

"[I] do not think that the ministry have any intention at present of sending a bishop among you," wrote William Gordon to Dr. Bellamy, in 1769. "They will scarce venture upon irritating yet more, especially if they believe a war probable, as they will want troops from the colonies to act against the French & Spaniards in America. I doubt not but they repent heartily of the steps they have taken already, tho' they are ashamed to reverse them." (Bellamy Papers, Mss.)

The appointment of bishops would infallibly be construed as the evidence of such a design. In vain it was urged that nothing of the sort was in contemplation; "nothing," the pious and prudent Archbishop Secker declared, "at which Christians of any denomination have cause to be alarmed; but merely a provision that those of our Communion in the Colonies might have that complete and easy exercise of every branch of their religion which others there have, and would complain bitterly if they had not;" that "we are for sending persons of our own order into America, not to claim the least jurisdiction over them, but merely to ordain Ministers for Episcopal Congregations, without the trouble, expense, and hazard of a voyage to England—a burthen to which if they were subjected they would think insupportable; to confirm from time to time the youth of those congregations—a practice which rightly or wrongly we hold in high esteem; and to exercise such discipline in those congregations only, as they exercise by ordained Presbyters or lay Elders;—which discipline of ours would no more

hurt them than theirs hurts us. To these representations they will pay more regard if we are careful not to give them unnecessary offence in any thing." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 348, 349.)

This was sound reasoning and excellent counsel. But neither the argument nor the advice of the good Archbishop seems to have been greatly heeded in the colonies. The advocates of the plan for bringing bishops to America were hardly judicious in their choice of methods to promote that plan. Their language was often such as to justify the impression that in seeking an American episcopate they were aiming at an ecclesiastical establishment. Changes were rung more loudly than ever upon "Conformity" and "Dissent." Incautious admissions were made. There were hints that the bishops might, without hardship, be supported by "a general Tax laid upon the Country;" and that the government might "see fit hereafter to invest them with some Degree of civil Power worthy of their Acceptance." (Appeal to the Public, 107, 110.)

The application of the Presbyterians of New York for a charter continued to be strenuously opposed; and the opposition was grounded upon the paramount right of the Church of England in the province. Even the excellent Archbishop Secker objected to the request: "That any of the powers and privileges they ask should be greater than the Episcopal churches enjoy, is evidently unreasonable. That any should be equal is derogatory from the just pre-eminence of the established religion." (Correspondence G. P. S.) "By the granting of the petition," wrote a leading clergyman of New York, "the National Religion in this province would have received a most fatal blow." The government was held to be in duty bound to show special favor to the Anglican Communion. Representations were made of the "importance of having good Governors, well attached to the Church, and well disposed to espouse her interest and that of true religion, upon all occasions," sent out to the provinces. Complaint was made of Governor Belcher, of New Jersey, that he had "not shown all that countenance to the Church she had a right to expect, while the Dissenting Meetings there have been highly favored;" and a successor was recommended, a "hearty friend to the establishment of our nation both in Church and State."

The correspondence of some of these advocates for the scheme of bishops places their views before us in a clearer light perhaps than that in which they were beheld at the time. But the sentiments thus expressed were doubtless betrayed in other ways; or if not, they were shrewdly surmised. Hence the opposition which the scheme awak-

ened; an opposition which at first sight seems unaccountable. The Presbyterian ministry were forward in this opposition. "Our fears would not be so much alarmed," said they, "could any rational method be devised for sending over bishops among us, stripped of every degree of civil power, and confined in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions to their own society; and could we have sufficient security that the British Parliament that would send them over, thus limited, to gain a peaceable settlement here, would never be induced by their complaints for the want of power, to enlarge it at any future period. But it is very evident that it is not that harmless and inoffensive bishop which is designed for us, or which the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but be apprehensive of danger from the proposed episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented."

"There 's a general apprehension among our brethren, that the government will send over some Bishops to settle in America. If it is only in the Episcopal colonies, I can't see that the dissenters will have any right to blame, tho' they will have cause to fear, for when once Episcopacy has got a footing, there's no knowing where it will stop. It will be well, should it not prove a wen to our American territories which tho' at first it may be inconsiderable, & may continue so for many years, may at length increase so fast as to be not only very noxious to the sight but dangerous to the body politick, & render it necessary to attempt cutting it off, though at the hazard of the State." (Rev. William Gordon to Dr. Bellamy; London, 21 Aug., 1764.—Bellamy Papers, Mss.)

Others beside the Presbyterian clergy shared these fears. "A general and just apprehension" existed, said John Adams, "that Bishops, and dioceses, and churches, and priests, and tithes, were to be imposed upon us by Parliament. If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other Churches as conventicles and schism-shops." In the light of history, however, these apprehensions certainly appear to have been exaggerated. The British government showed no zeal for the scheme. The attention of the ministry could not be gained to it. (Bancroft, IV. 427; Life of Dr. S. Johnson, 297, 325.) The friends of the cause complained loudly of the indifference with which it was treated by statesmen.

Yet the right of Parliament to exercise its universal and unlimited power over the colonies, in this direction as in any other, was asserted. The Stamp Act for America, passed in 1765, made mention, among

the papers that were to be stamped, of the several instruments of ecclesiastical law used in the courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. "Grenville reasoned, that one day such courts might be established in America." (Bancroft, v., 243.) Much, undoubtedly, of the fear and the hostility engendered, was due to the course pursued on this side of the water, by the earnest advocates of the measure, those most interested in the success of the measure.

But while for prudential reasons the government refrained from any action which might be construed as an attempt to set up a State Church in America, was there foundation in law for the claim that the Church of England existed here of necessity and by right as the National Religion? This question was profoundly discussed by the Presbyterian lawyers of New York, about the middle of the last century. They argued that while CHRISTIANITY was a part of the common law of England, which was in force in every English colony, no one form or system of Christianity in preference to another was recognized or enforced by the common law, as it applied to the colonies. While it was true that every new colony, until capable of making its own laws, remained subject to the laws of the country from which it had sprung, to suppose that all the laws of that country, without distinction, were binding upon the colony, was absurd in itself, and inconsistent with the scheme of colonization. If the planters of every new colony carried with them the established religion of the country from which they migrated, then, had this province been settled when popery was dominant in England, the Romish religion would have been the established religion here. If the subjects of a king were bound to profess the faith of their sovereign, then the province of New York, acquired during the reign of a popish king, should have been from the first a popish province. The King indeed was "supreme head of the Church as by law established in England;" but his prerogative did not extend to the making of law and the establishing of religion in the colonies; nor had he exercised such a right. Royal charters had been granted permitting the colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts to make their own religious establishments. Lord Baltimore, under the patent which he obtained from Charles I., established Christianity in Maryland as a part of the old common law of England, without allowing any pre-eminence to any particular form of its exhibition. The charter granted by Charles II. to William Penn, gave "equal privileges to all religions" within his province. And the Duke of York, clothed with the powers of government in this province, under his brother,

James II., proclaimed the free exercise of the Protestant religion, with liberty of conscience to all of every religious name, throughout his territories.

The policy of the British government, however, continued to the last to be characterized by indecision with reference to this subject. "Constitutional questions of great difficulty," in the judgment of the King and his ministry, were raised by the application of the Presbyterians of New York for a charter, when in 1775 their prayer was once more considered by the royal Council. This time the request was not a solitary one. A number of congregations in the provinces had presented similar petitions. Lord Dartmouth, writing to the Governor of New York on the 4th of May in that year, expressed the doubt which had occurred to the King and Council, "whether such Charters would not have the effect to give an establishment inconsistent with the Principles of the Laws of England." "If, however," added the minister, "upon consideration of the several cases in which this privilege is now requested, the Law Servants of the King in the Province, and the Council whom you will consult upon them, shall be of opinion that they are free from any difficulty of such a nature, it is the King's pleasure that you do grant such charter of incorporation." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VIII. 572-4.) The issue of this course of hesitation on the part of the home government was in keeping with its whole tenor. On his return to New York in the summer of 1775, Governor Tryon "imparted the pleasing intelligence to the several petitioners" that he had obtained an order from the King and Council to grant all the charters for which application had been made. In consequence of this, "the ministers, elders, deacons, and trustees of the Presbyterian church in the city, in compliance with a form which they were told was necessary, presented another petition to the Governor and Council, accompanied with a draft of the charter for which they prayed. This petition was favorably received; the charter, as drafted, actually passed the Council, and was put in the hands of Mr. Kemp, the King's attorney, to report thereon. The report of this officer was made necessary by the tenor of the royal order, but was at the same time considered as a mere formality, and a favorable report as a thing of course, after the step which had been taken. In this, however, the persons concerned were deceived. Neither the charter, nor his report upon it, could ever be gotten out of the attorney's hands. On one frivolous pretence or another he delayed from time to time, until the approach of the revolutionary

struggle, which, while it rendered the congregation less solicitous about obtaining a charter, attracted and fixed their attention on other subjects."

But the problem so beset with difficulties, to the minds of British sovereigns and statesmen, was viewed in a very different light by the colonial Governors of New York. "To me," said Governor Tryon, the last of these worthies, "it appears clear . . . that the National Church of England is established within this Colony [and] that the provision by the Ministry Acts . . . was intended and can only be applied for the support of the Clergy of that Church." (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 336.) It is a significant fact that some of the worst of the colonial Governors were the most pronounced and unfaltering supporters of the theory of a Church Establishment in the province. The insolence of a Fletcher, a Cornbury, a Tryon, found natural expression in words and acts contemning the religious convictions and rights of the people under their misrule. And undoubtedly the sense of injustice that rankled in the public mind, in view of the perversion of law and abuse of power with reference to liberty of conscience, contributed greatly to the growing dissatisfaction, throughout a large part of the century preceding the Revolution.

Meanwhile, during the quarter of a century immediately preceding the Revolution, a discussion of the whole subject of religious rights, important for its effect upon the popular mind, as well as for the ability displayed in its prosecution, was conducted through the public press by the leading men of the Presbyterian Church in New York. Three of these were eminent lawyers. A fourth was the young pastor of the Wall Street Church, Alexander Cumming, whose spirited appeals and cogent arguments contributed not a little to the force and weight of the pamphlet and newspaper publications of the day. But the names of his parishioners, William Smith, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, are better known in connection with this debate. The battle for religious liberty was well fought, at a time when the great struggle for civil freedom was beginning, by "the Presbyterian lawyers" of New York; and not only for their own religious communion, but equally for other Christian bodies. It is certainly to the credit of these advocates of the rights of conscience, that representing a Church which in Great Britain was a Church by law established—one of "the two Communions" in alliance with the State, the National Church of Scotland—they pleaded the common cause of the Protestant denominations not conforming to the Church of England. By the prominent part they took in this con-

troversy, as well as by their activity in the political discussions of the day, Livingston and his associates incurred suspicion and odium as dangerous men. But their arguments and appeals carried the judgment and the sympathies of the people. The partisans of a Church Establishment were no match for the men who stood forth in defence of the rights of conscience and the freedom of the land from an oppressive ecclesiastical rule. "The Presbyterians in America," wrote one of their opponents in 1766, "have ever been an encroaching and restless sect, and there is great reason to think they ever will be so. Since my first settling in this City, which is now upwards of seventeen years, they have at times been extremely troublesome, and have exerted all their cunning and interest to prevent the increase and prosperity of the Established Church." "The Province is unhappily ruled," wrote another, "by a set of lawyers of that persuasion who take every opportunity of doing the Church all the mischief in their power." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

It was at a late day in the colonial period that the Provincial Legislature of New York sought to provide by law for the redress of the grievances which had arisen out of a misconstruction of earlier laws, and to assert the principle, now fearlessly proclaimed by the Liberal party, of entire freedom and equality in matters of religion. Persistent efforts in this direction were made in the year 1769 and the two following years by the General Assembly of the province; but each measure, emanating from the popular branch of the Government, was either rejected in the Council, or defeated as effectually by the refusal of the Council to act upon it.

The discussion of this subject in the Assembly appears to have been introduced on the 6th of April, 1769, by Colonel Morris, in a speech thus reported in the proceedings of that body:

"Mr. Speaker: As the preservation of religious liberty is essential to the growth and tranquility of this colony; and a taxation of protestants of all denominations indiscriminately, for the support of the ministers of any one sect in particular, is most palpably partial and unjust; and great discontents have long been occasioned by the ministry acts in the counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond, in consequence whereof the Episcopal ministers are maintained by taxes upon other persuasions, not even excepting their clergy: I therefore move for leave to bring in a bill to exempt protestants of all denominations in the said counties from the payment of any taxes raised for the support of ministers of a religious persuasion to which they do not belong."

Leave was granted accordingly, and two days later Colonel Morris presented to the House a bill, entitled "An Act to exempt all protestants in the counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond from any taxation for the support of the ministers of the Episcopal denomination." After a second and a third reading, this bill was passed on the 15th of May. Meanwhile, on the 26th of April, another motion was made in the Assembly by Colonel Schuyler, whose address is likewise reported in the legislative proceedings:

"Mr. Speaker: I move, as the cultivation of the extensive territory in the county of Albany will be highly beneficial to the crown and colony, and as one of the best means to invite settlers will be to encourage the worship of God upon generous principles of equal indulgence to loyal protestants of every persuasion, and as proprietors of large tracts are willing to give small parcels of land for the support of ministers and schoolmasters to aid the new settlers, provided the same can be secured to the pious purposes of the donors; that leave be given me to bring in a bill to enable every church or congregation of reformed protestants in the county of Albany, without discrimination, to take and hold real estates, to the value of [—] per annum, given to them for the support of the gospel amongst them."

A bill to this effect having been introduced, it was passed on the 11th of May, with amendments, which appear in the title. It is "An Act to enable every church or congregation of reformed protestants, that are or hereafter may be set up in that part of this colony which lies to the northward of the counties of Dutchess and Ulster, without discrimination, to take and hold real estates to the value of one hundred pounds sterling per annum, given to them for the support of the gospel, and for the use of schools for the instruction of youth." Both of these bills were defeated in the Council on the 19th of May, a single member, William Smith, Junior, dissenting.

The subject, however, was again introduced in the Assembly in the autumn of the same year. On the 29th of November, 1769, Mr. Thomas asked leave to bring in a bill, which was accordingly submitted on the next day. It was entitled, "an Act to exempt protestants of all denominations from paying any clergyman by compulsory taxation." On the same occasion Mr. DeWitt presented a bill, entitled, "an Act to exempt the inhabitants of the counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond, from any taxation for the support of the ministers of the churches to which they do not belong." Each of these bills was admitted to a second reading, and then referred to a committee of

he whole House; and the former of the two was passed with amendments, January 16, 1770. The latter bill was subjected to various modifications. As finally passed, it provided "that all such persons as" were "not in communion with the Church of England," should, "from and after the publication of this act, be exempt from paying any part of the said tax; and that such proportions of said tax as" had "been annually paid by persons not being in communion with the Church of England," should "not in future be raised in any of the said Counties, or on any part of the inhabitants thereof."

Both of these bills were still under consideration, when Mr. De Noyellis obtained leave, on the 12th of December, 1769, to present to the Assembly a proposed Act, identical, if we may judge by the title, with that which Colonel Schuyler had introduced in the preceding session, having reference to congregations in the county of Albany. And on the 8th of January, 1770, the case of the inhabitants of the four lower counties of the province came up again for discussion, in a different shape. "A petition of several of the freeholders, in behalf of themselves and others, in the county of Albany, was presented to the house, and read, praying that a bill may be brought in to repeal the act, which compels persons of all denominations in the counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond, to pay to the clergymen of churches to which they do not belong, and for other purposes."

Before the Assembly had taken final action upon these four bills, a proposition of a very different nature was brought to its notice. On the 11th of January, 1770, Captain DeLancey moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Act of 1693 for Settling a Ministry, so far as it related to the city and county of New York. The amendment consisted in an alteration of the time for electing vestrymen for each of the city wards. Such a bill was introduced, and was passed by the House on the 25th of January; and on the following day it was passed without amendment by the Council. Nothing could more plainly indicate the spirit of that body than the fact that, while acceding without hesitation to this insignificant measure, it rejected every one of the important bills above recited, as in turn they were passed by the Assembly and sent up for its consideration.

The subject appears to have been brought up for the last time in the Assembly on the 24th of January, 1771, when Mr. Ten Broeck brought in a bill identical with the proposed acts introduced by Colonel Schuyler and Mr. De Noyellis. It was admitted to a second and a third reading, and was passed on the 26th of January. The Council, however, took no action upon it.

The discussion of this subject was cut short by the Revolution. Time, however, has vindicated the position taken by the Presbyterians of New York. The conclusions they reached have been fully recognized under the British government itself in the colonies that have remained attached to the mother country. The separation of Church and State is as complete to-day in Canada and Australia as in the United States. At one time or another the Church of England had been established by law in each of those dependencies of the British crown. But this establishment was by virtue of special laws enacted in the colonial legislatures; and by the same authority the connection between the Church and the provincial government has been terminated. In New York, as we have seen, no such legislation ever occurred.

Already, before the outbreak of the Revolution, the great principle for which the Presbyterian lawyers of this province contended had received the highest legal authority of the day. Among the laws of the mother country not extending to English plantations in the colonies, said Sir William Blackstone, those relating to "the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force." (Commentaries, I. 107.) And the Revolution had scarcely begun when that principle was embodied in the first Constitution of the State of New York, prepared in the year 1777. After confirming such parts of the English Common Law, the Statutes, and the Colonial Acts, as together formed the law of the province on the 19th of April, 1775, the 35th section of that constitution provides: "That all such parts of the Common Law, and all such of the said Statutes, and Acts aforesaid, or parts thereof, as *may be construed* to establish any particular denomination of Christians or their ministers, . . . be, and they hereby are, abrogated and *rejected*."

CHARLES W. BAIRD

APPENDIX

CHURCHES IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK BY THE YEAR 1700:

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES.—New York (1628), Albany (1642), Bushwick (1654), Flatbush (1654), Flatlands (1654), Gravesend (1655), Kingston (1659), Brooklyn (1660), Harlem (1660), New Utrecht (1677), Schenectady (1681), Staten Island (1690), Tappan (1694), Fordham (1696), Tarrytown (1697). In all, fifteen. (*Discourse on the Character and Development of the Reformed Church in the Colonial Period*, by Edward T. Corwin, D.D., p. 64.)

FRENCH REFORMED CHURCHES.—Staten Island (1665), New York (1683), New Paltz (1683), New Rochelle (1688). In all, four.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.—Livingston Manor (1700). (Rev. Dr. Corwin's *Discourse*, u. s.)

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.—Southold, L. I. (1641); Southampton, L. I. (1641); Hempstead, L. I. (1645); Easthampton, L. I. (1652); Newtown, L. I. (1660); Huntington, L. I. (1665); Bridgehampton, L. I. (1670); Setauket, L. I. (1671); Jamaica, L. I. (1672); Rye (1677); Bedford (1680); Westchester (1685); Eastchester (1685). In all, thirteen. (Thompson's *History of Long Island*; Macdonald's *History of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, L. I.*; Bolton's *History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, etc.)

GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES.—New York (1671), Albany (1673). (Brodhead's *History of New York*, II., 174; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II., 617.)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—Service in the Dutch Church in the Fort, New York (1664); Trinity Church, New York (1697). (Brodhead's *History of New York*, II., 44; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, III., 409.)

DUTCH AND FRENCH PRESBYTERIANS.—The name *Presbyterian* belongs in every sense as much to the Reformed Churches of Holland, France, Switzerland and Germany as to those churches in the British islands that have adhered to the Calvinistic system of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. Indeed no better exemplification of that system has ever been given than that which was given in France, until broken

up, under Louis XIV., by the laws that interdicted its Colloquies and Synods, or that which was maintained in Holland until the early part of the present century. It is therefore difficult to refer seriously to the plea set up by certain partisan writers in the last century, that the Reformed Dutch Church was not properly Presbyterian, and though "not Episcopal exactly," yet had many points of sympathy with the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England. Such an impression may have been due in a measure to the fact that there were in the colonial time some features in the *condition* of the Dutch and Anglican Churches in this province that were not unlike. In the case of each of these churches, the governing power was out of sight. The Dutch congregations in America were ruled by the Classis of Amsterdam, even as the Church of England congregations were subject to the Bishop of London. Candidates for the ministry, in the one church as in the other, were obliged to go to the mother country for ordination. It is not altogether strange that the friends of prelacy should have seen a modified episcopate in the State Church of Holland. The members of Classis seemed at this great distance to be a separate order of clergy, clothed with powers of ordination and government that were denied to ordinary ministers, such as those that were sent to officiate here. (*The American Whig*, etc., printed by John Holt; 1768, p. 159.) The *deputatus synodi* especially, it was thought, must certainly be a kind of bishop. This impression may have been aided by the liturgical character of the Reformed worship as practised by all the continental churches; and by the *prestige* surrounding a National Church established in Holland, like the National Church in England, by law. Nevertheless it was Presbyterianism, pure and simple, that the Dutch settlers brought to this land.

"The Reformed Churches of Holland, France, Germany and Geneva were all as really Presbyterian as that of Scotland." (Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D.)

The Heidelberg Catechism was approved at an early day by the Church of Scotland, and a place was given to it among the symbolical books of that Church. (Dunlop's *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*; Rev. Dr. Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, I., 682, 697.)

"In point of age the (Reformed Dutch) Church is the oldest on the American continent of all the Presbyterian or Reformed Churches. This fact is recognized by the Europeans who are familiar with the history of American Churches. We accept their designation, 'the Oldest Presbyterian Church in America,' with a full understanding of the responsibility and duties involved in it." (Rev. Philip Peltz, D.D., in *The Catholic Presbyterian*, April, 1879.)

In 1744 the deputies of North and South Holland wrote to the Synod of Philadelphia, requesting information about the Dutch and German churches of Pennsylvania, and asking whether the Synod would be willing to take those churches under its care.

Many facts illustrating the oneness of the system represented by the Church of Scotland and the continental churches might readily be cited. It is enough to say, that a comparison of their standards of doctrine and discipline will make this clear, and will correct a misapprehension shared with the pamphleteers of the last century by some of the most accurate historians of our own day.

As for the English congregations gathered on Long Island and Westchester county prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were known from the first as "Presbyterian," though as yet no Presbytery had been constituted in this country. Their founders came from Connecticut, a colony of which the principal friends and patrons, and many of the planters, were Presbyterians. All these churches came under the care of Presbyteries, when this became practicable. (Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, I., 33 seq.)

CORNBURY'S AMENDMENTS.—The amendments to the Assembly's bill, offered by Lord Cornbury's Council, 7th July, 1705, are significant. They will be found in N. Y. Colonial Mss., Office of the Secretary of State, Vol. L.,

pp. 118, 161. The fourth section of the proposed Act provided that upon the death of the incumbent in each place designated, the vestrymen and church-wardens of that place should be empowered to call and present a good, sufficient Protestant minister within one year, "*which Ministers shall respectively* be instituted and inducted to the said Churches." This language, while recognizing the Governor's right to induct—a right which had not been accorded by the Act of 1693—made it obligatory upon him to induct the minister so presented. The Council's amendment substituted for the words above quoted the following words: "*in order to be instituted and inducted,*" etc. So amended, the Act could have been interpreted as leaving it to the Governor's discretion whether to induct or to refuse induction.

Another amendment consisted in the addition of a clause to the sixth section of the bill, extending the operation of the Act of 1693 to the tract of land in Westchester county known as the Mile Square—a tract exempted out of the Yonkers patent, and therefore not embraced in the parish limits described by the earlier Act. The extension was inconsiderable, but the Assembly was perhaps unwilling to enlarge in any direction the scope of the law which the present bill was intended to explain.

A third change proposed by the Council was the substitution of the word "*Toleration*" for the word "*Indulgence*" in the fifth section of the bill, which has been quoted in the text. The proposal was characteristic. Cornbury was strenuous on the subject of *Toleration*; his conception of which took shape in the treatment of Francis Makemie. See also his Commission to "Mr. Francis Goodhue," Licensing and *Tolerating* him "to be Minister of the Presbyterian Congregation at Jamaica, . . . & to have & to Exercise the free Liberty of" his "Religion . . . during so Long Time as to me shall seem meet." (Doc. Hist. of N. Y., III., 210.)

PRESBYTERIAN SERVICES IN THE CITY HALL.—"For near three years after Mr. Anderson's settlement in New York, he and his infant congregation assembled for public worship in the City Hall, the use of which was liberally granted

them for that purpose by the corporation of the city." *Memoir of the Rev. John Rodgers, D.D.*, by Samuel Miller, D.D.)

I examined the Records of the Common Council with little expectation of finding any reference to this fact. I was gratified by the discovery of the following minute, now published, I believe, for the first time, an illustration of the accuracy of Dr. Miller's memoir :

"City of } Att a Common Council held at the
New York. } Ss City Hall of the said City, on Wens-
day the 16th day of Aprill Anno Dom 1718 * * *

"The Petition of Messrs Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Grant, Patrick Macknight and John Nicols in Behalf of themselves & the Congregation of Dissenting Protestants within this City Called Presbyterians was Read Setting forth that they have purchased a piece of Ground within this City Contiguous to the City Hall or near thereunto, with Design Speedily to Erect thereupon a Convenient Meeting house for the said Congregation for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God & praying that this Corporation will grant unto the said Congregation the use and Liberty of the City Hall in this City therein to Assemble and Meet together for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God untill their Meeting house aforesaid be built and finished.

"It is therefore Order'd by this Court that the Prayer of the said Petition be and is hereby Granted, Provided they do not Interfere with or Obstruct the Publick Courts of Justice to be held from time to time in the Said City Hall."

(*Minutes of the Common Council*, Vol. 3, from 24th Feb., 1702, to 9th March, 1722. Library of the Common Council, City Hall, New York.)

The only allusion to the Church in the subsequent transactions of the Common Council, so far as examined, is the following :

Oct. 11, 1720.—"Resolved that the Wall Street from the City Hall to the Broadway be of the same breadth contained in a Draft thereof this day produced to this Court by Mr. Samuel Bayard, by which Draft the said Street is to be forty-one foot wide from the fence of the Meeting house to the Corner of New Street." (*Id.*, p. 474.)

BISHOPS FOR AMERICA.—The scheme of Arch bishop Laud for sending a Bishop to New England, with power to enforce the decrees of the Star Chamber, is not to be forgotten. But neither that plan, nor the plan devised in the reign of Charles II. for establishing a Bishop in Virginia, seems greatly to have occupied the attention of Government. (Anderson's *History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, Vol. I., pp. 400-403; Vol. II., p. 358.)

As early as the year 1662 the report came from England to Massachusetts that "a Bishop, with a suffragan," had been appointed for the colonies. (Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, I., 225, *note*.) Dr. Hawks conjectures (*Collections of the Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, Vol. I., p. 139) that the date given by Hutchinson may have been written by mistake for the year 1672. But the statement is confirmed by the letters of the Dutch West India Company, acquainting Governor Stuyvesant in 1664 with the rumor then afloat that the King of England was about to send commissioners to install bishops in New England, "the same as in Old England." The Dutch hoped to reap some advantage from this measure. "We believe that the English, who mostly left England" to escape from the government of bishops, "will not give us henceforth so much trouble." Stuyvesant himself, better informed, suspected that the expedition might have a more purely secular design, and that the frigates about to sail from England might be destined for Long Island "and these further conquests," as the event proved. (*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, Vol. II., pp. 235, 409.)

In 1672, or the year following, "a resolution was taken by the King in council to send a bishop to Virginia." (*Collections of the Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, u. s.) The project was abandoned, owing, as we learn at a later day, to the "great alarm" manifested by the people of "the several colonies" upon hearing of it. (*Observations of the Bishop of London regarding a Suffragan for America*, Dec., 1707.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, Vol. V., p. 29.)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was alive from the first to the importance of this scheme; and in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne its endeavors

to secure an American Episcopate seemed to have the promise of success. The Queen favored the measure. The Society in 1712 purchased a house at Burlington, New Jersey, for the residence of a bishop. Governor Hunter, through whom the purchase was effected, wrote to his friend Dean Swift, whose hopes had finally centered on a "Virginian bishoprick," informing him of the arrangements made, and expressing the wish that he might have "so good a friend" with him. (*Works of Rev. Jona. Swift, D.D.*, New York, 1813. Vol. XV., pp. 70, 81, 261.) It was for Parliament, however, to establish bishoprics in the colonies. The Queen had ordered the drawing up of a bill, to be submitted to Parliament, with this purpose in view, when her sudden death, 1st August, 1714, destroyed the hopes of those who advocated the measure. (*Collections of Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, I., 141. —N. Y. Colonial Mss., Vol. LVIII., pp. 68, 69, Office of the Secretary of State, Albany.—*History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*,

by the Rev. G. M. Hills, D.D., Trenton, N. J., 1876, pp. 105, 106.)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA.—"Since the alienation of the Clergy Reserve (in 1854), the Church in Canada is precisely in the same position, as to its legal and civil status, as in the United States, and has no privileges beyond those of the religious bodies around it. . . . It is thoroughly and unqualifiedly disestablished. Its government is purely local, each diocese making its own canons; and under a Metropolitan, the Provincial Synod, composed of a House of Bishops and Lower House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, is the highest court of authority and appeal known to its system. Except advisory, as in the United States, no connection with the Church of England, as the Church of the Empire, is recognized." (Extract from a letter from a clergyman of the Church of England in Canada, kindly communicated by the Rev. B. F. De Costa.)

OLD FORT VAN RENSSELAER

This fort, situated at Canajoharie, N. Y., formed during the war of the revolution an important link in the chain of fortifications designed for the protection of the Mohawk Valley. After the repeated visitations of the enemy upon the settlements of this region, in the year 1780, numerous block-houses were erected for the assistance of the adjoining neighborhoods. The following year twenty-four of these strongholds were established between Schenectady and Fort Stanwix, mainly at the expense of the landed proprietors, to whom belonged the buildings palisaded. At Fort Plain and Fort Rensselaer many of the closing scenes of the revolution were enacted.

In 1780, the year preceding the appropriation of Fort Van Rensselaer by the government, the Indians under the famous chieftain, Brant, had devastated this section while the troops stationed at Fort Plain were on an expedition to Fort Stanwix, leaving the vicinity destitute of military aid. Washington, recognizing the necessity of a competent leader at this point, decided upon Colonel Marinus Willet as one peculiarly fitted to the trust. In a letter to Washington, bearing date July 16th, 1781, Willet stated that Fort Rensselaer, at Canajoharie, would be his headquarters, owing to its central location. In describing the stirring events which succeeded Willet's occupation of this fort, historians have, in one or two instances, fallen into the error of confounding Fort Rensselaer with Fort Plain. The explanation of this seems to be found in the fact that, situated as they were but four miles apart, Colonel Willet commanding at both, frequently directed important movements almost simultaneously from each fortress. No revolutionary soldier with whom Mr. J. R. Simms, the distinguished historian of the Mohawk Country, had conversed, could account for this confounding of these forts on the part of one or two writers.

The building which constituted the main portion of Fort Van Rensselaer yet stands on the east side of the Canajoharie or Schremling Kill, within the limits of the village of Canajoharie. It is a commodious stone structure with a gambrel roof, somewhat shelving at the eaves, beneath which can be seen the outlets of several port holes. It was erected by a Hollander named Martin Janse Van Alstyn, who removed from Half Moon to Canajoharie about the year 1730. It was occupied

by him as early as 1740. After his death it became, in turn, the property of his son Gosen, and grandson Philip Van Alstyn, and is still owned by a descendant of the family. This, together with the Johannes Rueff (anglicised Roof) and John Frey buildings, remained standing after the eruption of the Indians and Tories upon Canajoharie in the year 1780. The Frey dwelling still stands in a state of excellent repair. Its present owner, Ludlow Frey, is a descendant of Major John Frey. The Rueff homestead was destroyed in 1840. John Rueff, Jr., eldest son of its former owner, lived until the year 1847; and to him we are indebted for much of interest in the way of local revolutionary history.

During the year 1779, the army of General James Clinton, while awaiting a junction with the forces of General Sullivan at Lake Otsego, was encamped for several weeks on the lands of Johannes Rueff, on the site of the present village of Canajoharie. The General and staff found quarters with Philip Van Alstyn and Johannes Rueff. The residence of the former was the Fort Van Rensselaer of two years later. A fact which greatly adds to our interest in this historic building is, that during the years 1781 and 1782, while this fort was the headquarters of Colonel Willet, it was frequently visited by Continental officers of note. Among their number were Generals Washington, Lafayette and Schuyler.

We find earlier mention of this building in the Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, revolutionary papers, as follows: "A meeting of the Tryon County Committee of Safety was held, June 11th, 1775, at the house of Gosen Van Alstyn." "It was a common place of assembling of the committee and is still standing at Canajoharie (N. Y.)"—(J. R. Simms.) It was afterwards named Fort Van Rensselaer. One or two further historical references, showing the identity of the Van Alstyn place and Fort Rensselaer, are given in conclusion. From Simms' Schoharie County and Border Wars of N. Y., edition 1845, alluding to Fort Rensselaer: "This fort, erected early in 1781, was at Canajoharie, N. Y., where a stone house owned by Philip Van Alstyn was inclosed. This ancient dwelling is still standing, and was for a time the headquarters of Colonel Willet." From Friend's Gazetteer of N. Y.: "In the year 1781 the house of Philip Van Alstyn was palisaded and named Fort Van Rensselaer. It is still standing." Stone's Life of Brant, Vol. II., page 154 and subsequently, contains the most detailed account of the movements of Colonel Willet while quartered at this fort, to which work the interested reader is referred.

F. H. ROOF

EARLY AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.
BEAUMARCHAIS' OPINION OF SILAS DEANE
AND ARTHUR LEE

Communicated By George C. Genet

A Secret Memoir for the Ministers of the King alone.

By character and by ambition Mr. Arthur Lee was at first jealous of Mr. Deane. He finished by becoming his enemy, which always happens to small minds more occupied in supplanting their rivals than with surpassing them in merit.

The connexions of Mr. Lee in England, and two brothers whom he has in Congress, have made him recently an important and dangerous man. His plan has always been to prefer between France and England, the power which would most surely bring him to fortune. England has some advantages for him. He has often explained himself on the subject in his libertine suppers.

But to succeed it was necessary at starting to get rid of a colleague so formidable by his patriotism as Mr. Deane. This he has accomplished by causing him to be suspected in several points of view by Congress.

Having learned that the American Army regarded foreign officers coming to demand military grades with displeasure, he threw poison into the zeal of his associate who sent them. At the same time the conduct of some French who escaped from our Islands, justifying perhaps the repugnance they felt for our officers in America, Mr. Lee profited by these dispositions to affirm to Congress that Mr. Deane had on his own motion and against good advice, sent

these officers who were as expensive, as useless to the Republic. And as the first powers of Mr. Deane only related to matters of commerce they seized that loophole to disavow all that he had done in that regard, and it is one of the causes of his recall to-day.

A second motive for his recall is the officious care that Mr. Lee has taken to write incessantly to Congress, that all that the house of Hortalez had sent whether of merchandize or munitions from Europe were a present from France to America, *that he had been told so by Mr. Hortalez himself*; so that they could only see with great suspicion, commissions and other things arriving for them to do, attested by the signature of Mr. Deane as having been made by a commercial house, and under rigorous conditions of the most speedy returns.

Nothing was easier then for the politic Lee than to envenom the conduct of Mr. Deane, by giving it more the effect of secret menaces tending to favor certain demands for money of which he afterwards received a share of the profits; all of which explains very clearly the astonishing silence that Congress has kept upon more than ten of my letters which were full of detail. This silence is what has determined me to send an honest and discreet man who can penetrate the foundation of this intrigue.

To-day Mr. Deane loaded with grief finds himself suddenly and harshly recalled. He is ordered to go to give an account of his conduct and to justify himself from many faults which they do not designate.

He had resolved in his resentment not to go until Congress had sent him

the charges and griefs imputed to him, not wishing he said to go to deliver himself into the hands of his personal enemies without carrying with him justifications which would confound them; but I induced him to change this determination.

To understand fully the recall of Mr. Deane at so critical a moment it is necessary while I allow myself to speak with great frankness that others should be persuaded like me that England has a very large share in the doings of Mr. Lee. It is necessary to know that he caused his brother, the Alderman, to come here from London, that it is through him that he holds his secret correspondence, and that after I had broken down an accumulation of suspicions as to the means that England employed to be instructed at the point named of all that is done in France relative to America, I am the more strongly convinced that Mr. Lee is a lance with two heads; for this reason, that four days after the arrival of the letters of recall of Mr. Deane and which named Mr. John Adams in his place, Mr. Lee sent his valet de chambre very secretly to London. What is the object of this mysterious message? Why do they always know at London so exactly what is passing at Versailles? How were they informed at the very moment that a plan of treaty between France and America was existing? And why did they make such great efforts to corrupt me and to induce me to speak at the price of gold, if not to incompass me by insidious advice into the disgrace of Mr. Deane, and to ruin me at Versailles, while they ruined him in America? That valet sent to London upon the

arrival of the recall of Mr. Deane was the key to the whole thing.

Thus it is proved for me, that while England was sending Commissioners to America and the relations and friends of Mr. Lee lent themselves to favor a reconciliation of the two people in Congress, they sought at the same time to undermine by calumny the influence or credit of the two men whom they knew to be most attached to the plan of an alliance between France and America, Mr. Deane and myself.

That honest American who, until his arrival in France, had never experienced the calumnies with which politics make sport, is troubled; he has lost his balance and far from going to America to face the storm armed with his innocence, he wants to remain in France here to await the charges and to justify himself from them.

While that intrigue was successful in America, Mr. Lee, having need of some one in France who could serve his double purpose of destroying both Mr. Deane and myself at the same time, if he could, found that person exactly in the Count de Lauragais, a man whose resentment against me he could very easily excite to the point of doing me harm. To alieviate my friend entirely it was only necessary to show him my letters in cypher in which I recommended him, Lee, to be very careful not to *peak of political subjects to Mr. Lee, because it was expressly prohibited for me to do so*. Not that any one should distrust the French heart of M. de Lauragais, but because any sensible man must fear his indiscretion, his political tattling, and what is useless in serious affairs is always *de trop*.

Armed with all of Mr. Lee's secrets M. de Lauragais believed that he had more than the requisite right to come to gossip with me, and above all to borrow from me a hundred thousand francs of which he had great need. Upon my refusal to converse and the impossibility of a loan M. de Lauragais quitted me rudely, and from that moment the two politicians have acted so that M. de Lauragais, who like a child, always triumphs too soon, stupidly spread a rumor in Paris that I was lost, that they did not hold any communication with me at Versailles, that I was even then suspected of treason and they had placed spies on my track. On his side Mr. Lee did not fail to entrust to his English friends that the lover of America, it is this they call me, was disgraced and there was no longer anything to fear from me.

This is a faithful history of the intrigue which has produced the disgrace of Mr. Deane, has laid the way for them to announce my own and has brought us to the present moment.

The end of the thread once found the rest is easy to unravel.

Truly all this appears very contemptible, but since it is always contemptible things that injure great ones, everyone is obliged to notice in order to guard against them, so that far from regarding the unexpected disgrace of Mr. Deane as a misfortune, and far from strengthening his determination to remain in France until the charges against him arrive, I regard the project of his departure as a piece of good fortune which everything should be brought to bear to accomplish.

Your entire justification I have said to him is in my portfolio; Lee accuses you of having on your own authority sent officers to America, and I have in my own hands a letter in cypher from the politic Lee who presses me warmly to send some *engineers* and *officers* to the aid of America, and that letter was written before your arrival in France. Mr. Lee pretends to have received from me the assurance that all my consignments to the continent were presents from France, and that all the rest is a romance of your cupidity, but in the same portfolio I have the bargain in cypher between Lee and myself which proves that my correspondences were established by this very Lee on the basis and in the tone of an active and reciprocal trade and not otherwise. Then you did not imagine on your own motion that America had need of officers. Then upon your arrival in France by following the errors begun by Lee you cannot be guilty in the eyes of Congress, for having regarded as an honorable commerce what was established under that form and has never taken any other name in the mouth of your perfidious accuser except to injure you—and this is what I propose to establish beyond question.

It was with such arguments that I succeeded in inspiring courage in my desolated friend. I determined him to brave these storms of a day and I promised him a memoir for Congress in which I will establish his active, honest and patriotic conduct with so much clearness, the evidence accompanying, that his enemies will regret their inprudence.

But the prompt departure of that American agent appears to me as pressing as it is effectual; for the bearer of our conventions having been forced to return to Brest fifteen days after his departure from Bordeaux has lost more than two months. The Commissioners from England, if they arrive before him, will have divided, reduced or gained over Congress, if some clever and energetic man is not there to counterbalance the force of the British intrigue by the advantage of our offers, and what man is better suited to this work than Mr. Deane? Convinced that he owes his disgrace to the enemies of France, he will sustain what he wants with more good faith, since it will be from her alone that he will now go to maintain his justification and his consideration in America.

I will dare then to propose, that while I establish the first solidly, that an honorable attestation of wisdom and good conduct granted by the minister shall insure the second.

I would even wish that some particular favor as a portrait of the king or some other marked present might assure his countrymen that he was not only an honorable and faithful agent but that his person, his prudence and his labors, have always been agreeable to the Minister of France.

Mr. Deane believes, and it is his firm conviction that France should not now lose a single moment of time to show herself unmistakably on the side of America. In consequence if he concludes to depart, he believes that he is not making an extraordinary demand in asking and proposing that a royal fleet

shall take him to Boston, so that this public effort of France may aid him effectually to overturn the project of pacification with England, and to render vain the seductions of her Commissioners and the intrigues of the friends of Lee.

Without this effort he believes that all is lost for your alliance.

I think with him that this decided act will upset all the obstacles to the treaty—but since many things may suspend still further the resolution of any public step on the part of France—whatever may be superior to the disposition of the government I think it should not hesitate to take advantage of the departure of Mr. Deane to hasten to send to America, and charged also with personal honors a man so useful to our interests.

Once justified in the mind of Congress his opinion will become of immense weight and of respectable authority. He will attract all suffrages and the force of his representations will be so much the less resisted as his enemies freshly confounded will be still troubled, dumbfounded and mortified at their want of success.

If the Minister does not grant the fleet which he wishes, he must at least have a royal frigate; M. de Sartines can provide it. He must have a good apologetic and justificatory memoir and of that his friend Beaumarchais will take charge with pleasure. He must have an honorable attestation upon his conduct, and that important piece is the work of the Count de Vergennes. Finally I think he should have some distinguished favor which will prove the satisfaction that has been had with his

person, and that favor it appears to me, should emanate from the hand of the Count de Maurepas in the name of the King. But there is not a moment to lose. The English have not spoken of pacification until they have recently become satisfied by secret information that France had sent a Treaty to America. Since the news of the recall of Mr. Deane, why that valet de chambre of Lee, who ran over to London, if it is not to hasten the departure of the Commissioners so that they may have finished their affair before ours would have begun?

It appears to me important then that Mr. Deane armed with every necessary proof, but with the air and tone of a man overwhelmed, who is borne down by his disgrace and departs without consolation should embark for America. It is necessary that all that reanimates his courage shall be kept a secret from all others, so that his enemies and ours believing themselves sure of their triumph will go to sleep over all precautions. I even propose to quit Paris, if it is desired, at the same time, as a persecuted man who abandons everything. My lawsuit at Aix will serve me marvelously well. But I propose also that a reliable man shall accompany Mr. Deane to bring back by the same frigate which will be directed to wait for him the effect of Mr. Deane's efforts on Congress.

Then the ruse of our adversaries will fall back on themselves and their efforts to defeat our designs will be the cause of our success being hastened.

If these views appear to be reasonable and are approved, as soon as I am

assured of it, I will quit everything else, and not rest a moment until I have solidly established Mr. Deane's justification.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

LETTER OF COUNT DE VERGENNES TO SILAS DEANE

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Translated for the Magazine

Versailles, the 26 March, 1778.

As I shall not, Sir, have the honor to see you before your departure, I pray you to receive the expression of my hope that your voyage may be rapid and prosperous, and you may find in your own country the same sentiments of regard you have inspired in France. You need not ask for more, Sir, than those I entertain for you, and shall preserve for you as long as I shall live; they are the guarantee of the true interest I shall never cease on every occasion to take in your happiness, as well as in the prosperity of your country.

The King, desirous of giving to you a personal testimony of his satisfaction with your conduct, has charged me to inform M., the President of the United Congress, of it; this is the object of the letters which M. Gerard will deliver to you for Mr. Hancock; he will also deliver to you a box with the portrait of the King; you will surely not refuse to take with you to your country the likeness of its most zealous friend. Deeds are the proof of it.

I have the honor to be, with very sincere consideration, Sir,

Your very humble and
very obedient Servant.

DE VERGENNES.

M. Deane.

NOTES

TORY BALLADS OF THE REVOLUTION.
There is or was a branch of American poetic folks-lore, now dropping into oblivion, some curious and perhaps interesting fragments of which may possibly still be recovered ; and I would recommend the Editor of the Magazine of American History to invite its readers to contribute any relics of it which may be in possession or within reach of any of them. All that may be sent may not be worth reproduction, but of that the Editor will be a better judge generally than the contributor.

I refer to the old Tory ballads of our Revolutionary era. Most of us, had we been readers sixty years ago, would have patriotically scorned to look at such productions, and some of them were no doubt of a kind which we would turn from with disgust even now ; but there may be others extant which would awaken in us now as little ire as the best old Jacobite songs do in the breast of an English loyalist.

In the Carolinas, when Toryism was stronger and more of an armed power than in the other colonies, its unsubdued spirit survived longest, and there, I am told, numerous ballads of this kind long continued current and were occasionally sung in circles where it might be done safely. The following incident shows how tenaciously some of the wrong side supporters clung to the "lost cause" of their day. A fighting Tory of the Revolution, though an illiterate man and a hunter by occupation, had no little poetical and musical capacity, as well as a voice of great power and melody.

During his guerilla days he composed a royalist war song, which, long after the contest was over, he would now and then sing in crowds where the demonstration involved danger. One of those displays at length brought on between the singer and a Whig listener an indecisive fight, followed by a feud, which ended in the killing of the Whig by the Tory bard, who in consequence was found guilty of murder and executed. He died game, and on the scaffold sang in tones of stentorian harmony the song which led to his death, and, as it was to be his last show of defiance, his audience listened to him patiently.

The only American Tory song which I have met with was republished in the New York *Evening Post* about six years ago, but it could hardly be classed among those which I have assimilated to the unirritating Jacobite ballads. The occasion which drew it forth was the arrival of Washington at Cambridge to take command of the army. The highest leaders who had thus far figured at the head of that improvised host had been generals of State militia, and the arrival of a Continental commander-in-chief, the germ of regular force and higher than State authority, signalized the conversion of local insurrection into national uprising. It was an event which might well awaken the wrathful irony of the Tory bard who designates the Virginia magnate as

"Great Washington all newly clad
In power and leather breeches."

The song evinces a good use of language and capacity for versification, but is of tone so sarcastic towards the Father of

his country, that many of us might not yet relish it even as a literary curiosity. The only stanza which I remember fully, thus describes an element in the crowd which the sensation of the time drew together :

"The country bumpkins made a tramp
In homespun stripes and Kearsays
To see the greatest rebel scamp
That ever crossed the Jerseys."

Some of the native loyalist corps did gallant service for the crown, and if there be any true soldier songs which celebrate those exploits, they would be more acceptable than versified effusions of mere party bitterness, but I would be willing to read even those, for it is now edifying to see what fools these pestilent Tories made of themselves. The exhibition has its moral, which is: "Go, and don't do like wise." R. M. P.

A POSITIVE DENIAL.—To All People, Nations and Languages on Earth; this is to let you know, that I have no Wife, neither have I ever had any in these parts that I was lawfully married to, there is one that formerly lived with Col. Andrew Bostwick, named Martha Stead, that some persons looked upon as my Wife, but it is an absolute falsehood, as I was never married to her; therefore I desire no person whatever to trust her on my account, as I am fully determined not to pay any debts of her contracting after the date hereof David Wool. Fish-Kill. Aug 12. 1782.—*N. Y. Packet*, April 17, 1783. PETERSFIELD.

JUDGE JONES AND COLONEL MEIGS.—It is due to the memory of Col. Return Jonathan Meigs, an excellent officer of the Connecticut Line in the Revolution-

ary Army, to state that the gross aspersion upon his character contained in the newly published history of New York, by Judge Jones, is entirely misplaced. It was not R. J. Meigs, but quite another man named Felix Meigs, whom the Judge describes in Vol. I. as a counterfeiter and condemned felon. The Revolutionary Colonel's private character was above reproach. At another opportunity it is proposed to present the true record in the case, and possibly to expose some other glaring blunders, not noticed by the careful editor of the work, which somewhat impair its claim to be considered as an authority.

H. P. J.

A CENTENARIAN. — Monday last Peter Brewer of Allentown died being upwards of 100 years of age.—*The New Jersey Gazette*, September, 1779.

IULUS.

LOUIS NOEL ANGIBAU. Extract from French Gazette, 1780.—We desire to acquaint Louis Noel Angibau, enlisted in the King's service under the name of Brin D'Amour, in the legion of Damas, in the year 1768, then in garrison at Brest; and who ever since that time has given no intelligence of his person; that William Angibau his father deceased in November, 1778, who left him a successor. If any person knowing the said Louis Noel Angibau should be acquainted with either his death or the place of his residence, they are requested to give notice of it to the Sieur Angibau, his brother, living at Mr. Grand Jean, painter, in the street of Faubourg St. Martin, Paris.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 28, 1780.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

THE THEATRE IN NEWPORT, 1761.—Newport, Sept. 15th. On Monday the Company of the Provoked Wife or a Journey to London was acted at the theatre by a company of Commediants in this town for the benefit of the poor; when the sum of one thousand and thirty pounds, old tenor, was raised for that purpose; the money was yesterday paid by Mr. Douglass in behalf of the Company, into the hands of Mr George Gibbs who has generously undertaken to lay it out in corn, which he will store till the winter and then deal it out to such of the poor as shall be judged worthy to receive it. Notice will be given in this paper when the corn is ready and such as deserve the charity will then be informed how they shall be supplied."

In quoting this extract the editor of the "Rhode Island Republican" says that by tradition it is understood that the plays performed by this company were the first in the English colonies north of Virginia. The company closed their performances with the tragedy of Douglass, also for the benefit of the poor. The play-house was a temporary structure, and stood on a lot in the north part of the town called Easton's Point near Dyers' Gate.

Is the statement correct that the first plays performed north of the Potomac were at Newport by this company?

Newfort.

J. E. M.

BRADY'S LEAP. — A great deal has been written about this fable. Can any of your readers give reliable information

as to the greatest distance a man can run and jump? The distance alleged to have been jumped by Brady is variously stated; one says 32 feet! another, 27 feet, 8 inches; a third, 27 feet, 6 inches; and the others only claim 22 feet. I do not believe that a man can, by merely running, leap 22 feet.

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

THE ANDRE PLOT, — While examining Joshua Hett Smith's Narrative of the Death of Major André, I was struck by the fact that Smith, at whose house André had staid, and who piloted him through the American lines, was arrested after the discovery, by a French officer, one Colonel Gouvion. Why was this service entrusted to a foreigner? Did Washington distrust his own officers in the Continental service?

TAPPAAN.

PICKPACK. — Giving an account of the falling of a man in "Swoun," Sewall says in his diary that he was "carried *pickpack* to bed." Was this an Americanism, or is there English warrant for the word?

ETYMOLOGIST.

AN ARMY DUEL. — The Pittsburgh Gazette of April 20th, 1793, contains a long account of a duel between Lieut. Daniel of St. Thomas Jeniffer and Ensign Wm. Pitt Gassaway at Legionville, in which the latter received a wound from which he died the same day. Singularly enough, no allusion is made to the cause of the duel. Can any of your readers inform me if this was the same Jenifer who was Minister to Aus-

tria 1841-5, and who died at Port Tobacco, Md., Dec. 18, 1855? What was the cause of the duel? I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

REPLIES

AN HISTORICAL MEDAL.—(III, 313.) The author of this query would not have made it if he had correctly read the words of the inscription. *CONJUGIS*, and not *CONINGIS*. The inscription signifies, "This medal has been struck from a pious regard for the memory of a just man and by the love of his wife," and the words "*SENATUS PRINCEPS*" indicate that M. de Nesmond was a "President à Mortier." He died in 1693.

PIERRE MARGRY

Paris, June, 1879.

The explanation given by Mr. Margry of the probable purport of the inscription is no doubt correct. A careful examination of the photograph of the medal, from which the drawing was made for the Magazine, shows uncertainty in the lettering; but he by no means answers the query of Mr. Robertson, who was the William de Nesmond that died in 1693? We commend this query to the attention of Mr. Margry. No one is more competent to answer it than he.

The family of de Nesmond, according to La Rousse, was celebrated in the "noblesse de robe." The Hotel de Nesmond, built in the reign of Henri IV., stood until recently, and is perhaps still standing at 55 Quai de la Tour-nelle, Paris.

The most distinguished of the family, as far as judgment can be made from authorities at hand, was Henri de Nesmond, Bishop of Montauban. According to the *Biographie Universelle*, edition of Paris, 1822, he was of a noble family of Angoumois; by the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, of a family of Irish origin. He was son of a President at the Parliament of Bordeaux. The *Biographie* of 1822 says of him that "he early made a name in the pulpit, while his brother, the Chevalier de Nesmond, illustrated his in the navy."

According to Charlevoix, the "Marquis de Nesmond" left Brest with his ships about the 26th April, 1697, but from various causes did not reach Placentia till July 24th, when a council of war determining that it was too late in the season to move to advantage, he was compelled to return to France without firing a gun. Parkman mentions also a *Mémoire sur l'entreprise* par M. le Marquis de Nesmond, printed at Versailles, 21st April, 1697. This, no doubt, is the same person as the Chevalier mentioned in the *Biographie*, but nowhere is his Christian name given.

From the above facts the conclusion seems natural the William de Nesmond of the medal, President of the Parliament, was the father of the Bishop of Montauban, and of the Chevalier, later Marquis de Nesmond; that the latter brought the medal with him as a pious reminder of his father, and that, lost by or stolen from him, or perhaps given as a friendly token to some Indian chief, it found its way to its resting place beneath the village of the Miamis, in the heart of the continent.

The title given by Mr. Margry "President à Mortier," is hardly in general use. It is a technical term for a "President of Parliament;" the *mortier* is the cap used by these officers.

EDITOR.

the last survivors of the Revolutionary pensioners, taken from the records of the Commissioner of Pensions at Washington. "Inquirer" will find all the information he seeks by referring to that article. C. A. C.

MONONGAHELA.—(III, 516.) A Shawnee Indian from the Indian Territory lately informed me that the name of this river has its origin in the Algonkin dialect of the Delaware or Lenni-Lenape, but cannot be explained through the Shawnee. In Delaware it is pronounced Menangehéli, and means "caving in." But the tribal name of the Munsees or Muncies, a portion of the Delawares, can be interpreted by means of the Shawnee language. In Shawnee a Munsee Indian is Humenthi, the Munsee people Humenthige, *hu* being a predication prefix; *menthi* is the Shawnee *menethi*, *m'nethi*, *island*, and hence this name signifies, "those living on an island," or "the people living near the island."

A. S. G.

—In Wm. C. Richel's "Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams, and Localities within the States in Pennsylvania, &c., from the Ms. of John Heckeweldn," &c. this word Monongahela is given as "corrupted from *Menaungechilla*, a word implying *high banks or bluffs, breaking off & falling down at places*.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—(III, 263-380.) In the "American Historical Record" for December, 1873, pp. 531-534, may be found a full account of

ROBBINS' REGICIDES.—(III, 514.) C. Robbins' *Regicides* in New England was one of the lectures by members of the Mass. Hist. Soc., delivered before Lowell Institute in Boston, 1869.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Harvard College Library.

GENERAL FRASER'S BURIAL PLACE.—(III, 452.) If H. C. M. will turn to Appendix No. VI. in Stone's *Burgoyne Campaign*, published by Munsell, Albany, N. Y., he will find an answer to his query. The name is Fraser, not Frazer.

W. L. S.

HOWARDS OF MARYLAND.—(III, 248.) William Howard (M. D.?) married Rebecca Ann Key, *cousin* to Francis Scott Key, being the daughter of Philip Barton Key, whose brother, John Ross Key, was father of Frank.

T. H. M.

ROCHAMBEAU.—(III, 583.) To obtain a reply to the query as to whether the heirs of Rochambeau ever made application to the United States for a pension, a note was addressed to the authorities, and answer received June 25, 1879, from Mr. J. A. Bentley, Commissioner of Pensions, "that the records fail to show that the heirs of Count de Rochambeau ever applied for a pension by reason of service during the War of the Revolution."

EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1875.
Publication Fund Series, VIII. 8vo, pp. 553.
Printed for the Society. New York, 1876.

I. OFFICIAL LETTERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL
JAMES PATTISON.

II. LETTERS TO GENERAL LEWIS MORRIS.

The conditions of this important fund, not yet entirely complete, and well worthy of subscription from historical students throughout the land, only permit of the use of its interest in publication. Hence the delay in the issues of the last years. The volume for 1875 has been recently published, and is not only one of extreme local importance to citizens of New York, but of general value to all who are interested in the revolutionary period. It contains: I. The official letter of Major-General James Pattison, first as Commandant of the Royal Artillery in North America, and secondly as Commandant of the City of New York. The copy from which this correspondence is printed was conveyed to the Society by Captain Francis Duncan, of her Majesty's Royal Artillery, to whom American students have been repeatedly indebted for valuable material.

I. begins with a letter to Lord Viscount Townshend, dated, New York, January 10, 1779, and closes with a communication to the Board of Ordnance, written at Bath, 11th January, 1781, on the quality of the powder used by the British during the siege of Charleston, in which General Pattison takes occasion to say that the case referred to was the "single instance that had come to his knowledge, since he had the honor to command the Artillery in North America, of the Government powder proving bad on any service that was carried on there." Whatever the speculations committed during the course of this long war, in which it is recently charged that the British failed because of malversation and incompetency of officials, civil and military, here is evidence that at least they "kept their powder dry." Among these documents will be found important letters from the British camps at Stony Point, 9th June, 1779, one to Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that a deserter from West Point had given an exact description of the American works at that place, and a second of same date to Lord Viscount Townshend, with a concise account of the capture of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point at that time. After completing the works of defence and every cautionary step for the fullest security of the post, General Pattison returned to New York, to the command of the garrison and city of which he was, on the 5th of July, ap-

pointed by Sir Henry Clinton, succeeding Lieutenant-General Jones in the post, which he terms, the 10th July, "a very desirable and pleasant command." The fortunes of war did not permit him long to enjoy the delightful sea breezes which made old New York about the Battery the most delightful summer residence on the continent. By the very next homeward mail, the 26th July, he had the mortification to report the surprise of Stony Point by "Mad Anthony Wayne." In his report, like a true soldier, he gives the Continental commander and all the troops credit for having shown no instance of inhumanity to any of their British captives. On the 22d August he had again the mortification to report the surprise of the British post at Powles' Hook, a success of which the Americans did not take full advantage.

The garrison of New York, at the time he assumed command, consisted of "Six battalions—two of the Guards, the 54th, and 3 Hessian Regiments under Brig-Gen. Hackenbourg." The letters continue to give details of military movements. On the 21st and 22d February, 1780, he sends an account of the great frost which rendered the "passage of the North River to Paulus Hook practicable for the heaviest cannon." In July, 1780, he writes Lord George Germain of the aid rendered him by the Tories of New York in the defence of the lines. They threw up a redoubt, which in their honor he named the *Citizens' Redoubt*, a position which some local antiquary, perhaps our good friend Colonel Thomas F. DeVoe, may accurately locate.

The second part opens with a letter of the 10th of July, 1779, to the Chamber of Commerce of New York, requesting them to meet and advise with him concerning the internal management of the affairs of the city. This body, organized in 1768, included the principal merchants of the city; their meetings had been suspended since the spring of 1775, when the opening of hostilities at Lexington brought to an instant close all commercial operations. The Tory members who had remained in the city now reorganized, and until the close of the war, under the wise provisions of General Pattison, essentially had the civil government of New York. The last letter in this part of the collection is addressed to James Thompson, and is dated 18 August, 1780.

II. The second part of the volume contains a number of letters to General Lewis Morris, from the family papers of Henry M. Morris, the late proprietor of the Old Manor House of Morrisania. The first of these is a letter from Washington,

dated at the camp at Cambridge, August 4, 1775, and in the collection follow interesting communications from Jay, Burr, Greene, Steuben; the majority, however, being from Lewis Morris, Jr., Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental army, which are full of information about the operations of the American forces.

The value of the book is greatly increased by an admirable and copious index, the work of the accomplished and precise Assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, William Kelby, who is confessedly the first authority on all that concerns the local detail of New York history—the willing, disinterested assistant of every writer who has her fame at heart.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1876.

Publication Fund Series IX. 8vo, pp. 495.

Printed for the Society. New York, 1877.

THE COLDEN LETTER BOOKS. Vol. I., 1760, 1765.

The publication fund of the Society not being complete, and its conditions only permitting of the use of the interest of it, this volume has also been necessarily delayed. It is the first volume of the Colden Papers, 1760-1765, which is probably the most valuable and important of the manuscripts belonging to the Society, and contains the first part of the official letter books of Cadwalader Colden, on whom the administration of the Province of New York devolved upon the death of Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey in 1760, the Mss. continuing until the year 1765.

The papers begin with a notification by Colden to General Amherst, under date of August 4, 1760, of the death of his predecessor, and a circular letter to the several Governors of the Colonies on the occasion, and close with a letter, under date of April 27, 1765, to John Pownall, Esq., Secretary of the Board of Trade.

The importance of the correspondence of this one-sided and arbitrary officer is invaluable as showing the nature of British rule, and the measures which irritated New York to exasperation, and finally drove her to independence.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PAPERS. Vol. VII., No. 8. August, 1879.

Edited by Rev. T. WILLIAM JONES. Richmond, Va.

Repeated attention has been called in these pages to the extreme value of the well selected and carefully edited series of papers published by the learned Secretary of the Southern Historical Society, under their authority and direction. They are too numerous for special mention. In the latest, the August number, how-

ever, we notice the authentic publication of a letter which appeared not long since in one of the New York dailies. It is dated August 1, 1875, and was written by the Hon. James Lyons, of Virginia, to Col. Allen B. Magruder, of Baltimore, and contains some statements which the word extraordinary can hardly characterize. Mr. Seward's name is mentioned in a manner which can hardly fail to challenge immediate comment and reply. With this we shall not deal, but invite attention to the statement made that Count Mercier, then French Minister to the United States, in May or June, 1862, visited Richmond by permission of the Northern Government, and while there made known to Mr. Lyons the plans of the United States War Department, and informed him, from the official statements of the War Department, of the number of troops enlisted, and the direction they had been ordered to take. The further conversation is of little consequence now, but it is a matter of importance to know whether the French Minister committed such a breach of good faith. It seems incredible that he could have been supplied with any such information, monstrous that he could betray it. We well remember the indignation with which Mr. Chase denounced Mr. Mercier in a private conversation as an enemy of the United States, and his diplomacy as unfriendly.

If the statements of Mr. Lyons can be substantiated, he was worse than inimical; he was treacherous. Well may the American rejoice that the imperial government which instigated or approved such diplomacy has been driven from the country which it not only ruined, but disgraced.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

No. 4. WILLIAM CODDINGTON IN RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL AFFAIRS. An Historical Inquiry. By Dr. HENRY E. TURNER. 4to, pp. 60. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

In a fourth of the dainty little quartos, to which the enterprising publisher treats the historical inquirer, Dr. Turner takes up the Magistrature of William Coddington, the founder of a distinguished family, whose home was at Newport for more than a century; though it is no longer borne in Rhode Island, at least by any of the descendants of the Governor. In the dispute as to the character of the Governor, Dr. Turner takes the adverse side, although attributing his faults to weakness rather than wrong intent. He considers that he was the willing instrument in the hands of the Massachusetts Government to defeat the union of the four towns of the Providence Plantations, who hoped to throw off their oppressive allegiance.

Mr. Rider announces that he expects to in-

corporate in the same series a view more favorable to Coddington's memory, prepared by Dr. David King, President of the Newport Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER, APRIL 24, 1878. No. 71, pp. 110. CHARLES HAMILTON. Worcester, 1878.

While in entire accord with the conclusions of the report of the Council, that "in the materialistic tendency of the age whenever attention is drawn from what is chiefly selfish, the horizon of the mind is enlarged and the dignity of life added to," we utterly protest against the argument upon which it is based. We deny that "our age is in a condition of general bankruptcy;" that it is "bankrupt in religion, bankrupt in morals, bankrupt in politics, as well as in finance." We utterly deny the assertion. The world is not degenerate; never were the moral forces more active; never was religion more liberal and catholic, more tolerant and Christian in the true spirit of the founder; never have the educational and charitable institutions received more general support, private as well as public, than they do now, and never have the social distinctions between sects and social classes been so entirely lost in a general brotherhood of humanity. Even the beast now receives a better treatment than was given to the poor of human kind not half a century ago.

The volume includes a paper on Massachusetts and Maine, their union and separation, by P. Emory Aldrich; one on the decrease of the relative number of college-educated men in Massachusetts during the present century, by Edward Hitchcock, which shows the decrease during the last seventy-five years to be nearly three-eighths of the original ratio. A paper on a terra cotta figure from Isla Mujeres, Yucatan, by Stephen Salisbury, Jr., with photographic illustrations. An appendix contains a translation, by the same hand, of Valentini's valuable lecture on the Mexican Calendar Stone, with a fine heliotype plate of this curious relic.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

No. 5. MEMOIR CONCERNING THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND. By ELISHA R. POTTER. 4to, pp. 138. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1879.

By the edict of Nantes, so called from the place of its signature, Henry IV. in 1598 guaranteed religious toleration. Reaffirmed on several occasions as the policy of the Kingdom, or

the law of the land, it was repealed in 1685 by Louis XIV. The result was an immediate emigration to Protestant countries, and among them to America, settlements being made at New Rochelle, on the James river in Virginia, on the Santee river and at Charleston, South Carolina. About thirty families settled at Oxford in Massachusetts, but in 1696 the little colony was dispersed by the attacks of the Indians and of their white neighbors, who no doubt as Englishmen had drunk in hatred of a Frenchman with their mother's milk. At Oxford they had a church of their own, and they later built one at Boston, when they were driven in from the outer settlement.

In 1686 the Proprietors of the Narragansett country made an agreement with some French emigrants for the settlement of a plantation on their territory. The names of the signers, forty-eight in number, are given; chief among them in the later history of the colony is that of Ayrault. They built a church in the settlement, which took the name of Frenchtown, and established their minister, Ezechiel Carré. But little is known of their subsequent history. Their names have been corrupted as usual till hardly a trace of their origin remains; as, Le Moine into Mawney, Targé into Tourgee, Daillé into Daly. The documents here printed are in the British State Paper Office, London.

A note is appended on the Narragansett purchases by the Massachusetts Bay proprietors, in which the action of the authorities of the older colony are severely condemned. Their attempt to convert the Indians to "Massachusetts Christianity" is particularly censured. The tract closes with a chapter of genealogical notes, and some records of the families of Mawney, Bowen, Ayrault, Bernon, Tourtellot, Helme, Carpenter, Ganeau, Marchant, Targé, Lucas, Jerauld and Ginnado, and a note upon others bearing French names.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER, OCTOBER 21, 1878. No. 72, pp. 131. CHARLES HAMILTON. Worcester, 1879.

The report of the Council, submitted in their behalf by Edward E. Hale, is of unusual interest. It includes a warm affectionate tribute to its recent deceased members, chief among whom was Judge Thomas, whose serene, well-balanced mind, warm heart and varied accomplishments were the admiration and delight of all whose happy fortune it was to be brought into contact with him, either in his private or social life or in the more general field of his active usefulness. A fitting tribute is paid also to the

earnest, laborious and excellent scholar, Dr. Berendt, whose services in geographical and archæologic investigation in Central America have greatly added to the existing information upon this almost novel field of exploration. There are also two excellent papers on the Archæology of Yucatan, by Augustus Le Plongeon and Madame Le Plongeon, his wife, both of which are amply illustrated.

The volume is deserving of highest praise.

SELECTED SPEECHES AND REPORTS

OF FINANCE AND TAXATION, FROM 1859 TO 1878. By JOHN SHERMAN. 8vo, pp. 64c. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

The distinguished Secretary, whose name will be indissolubly connected with the successful accomplishment of the resumption of specie payments, and the no less remarkable completion of the funding of the public debt of the United States, in the preface to the volume before us announces that the purpose of this selection from his speeches on finance and taxation, from that on the Morrill tariff in 1860 to his annual report to Congress at the close of 1878 as Secretary of the Treasury, will have been accomplished, if it shall contribute in any way to throw light upon the important problem of securing a *stable currency of paper money, redeemable in coin*. In this phrase may be found a distinct open avowal of the kind of currency he prefers for this country—to-wit, a paper currency. And here we venture to take direct issue with the Secretary, and with the more confidence that the opinions of the most celebrated financiers of Europe and the experience of both continents sustain our views. We believe that it is not only the interest, but the only safety for this country to have a circulating medium, essentially of gold and silver, in true proportions, and that the paper currency should be merely supplementary. The experience of France has shown the advantage of a very large preponderance of coin over paper, five to two. The experience of England has shown that the ratio of two and one-half of coin to one of paper is too small to insure convertibility. That of the United States, before the suspension of 1860, showed that the ratio of three to two was too small here also, and that suspension immediately followed any great drainage of coin—beyond our annual production. Why should we expect to be exempt from the economic law which governs the relations of paper to the base on which it rests?

The easy resumption of specie payments was not the result of any financial scheme alone. Without any plan whatever, gold would have fallen to par. The enormous balance in trade of the last two years has not only enabled us in

return for our products to draw from Europe an enormous amount of our own bonds, but to retain at home the whole of our annual product of gold and silver, for the first time in many years. This has raised the stock of gold in the country to three hundred millions, and further additions will no doubt be made to it this year; and yet no gold passes from hand to hand. In a recent speech on the Delaware river excursion Mr. Sherman plumed himself on the fact, that since the resumption Act went into effect only seven millions of gold had been drawn from the Treasury for notes and greenbacks. What is still more significant is that the National banks had less gold and silver on the 1st January 1879, than on the 1st January, 1878. No one wants any gold; the people have forgotten its use, the banks do not care to be burthened with the load, and the Treasury has it all to itself. A wise financial policy would at once take in every note under ten dollars, and forbid their issue by the National banks as well. Gold pieces of five dollars and two dollars and one-half would immediately take their place, and the currency be just so much strengthened. The balances of trade will not forever be in our favor. In the first turn of the exchanges against this country, the same causes which have caused alarm will cause it again. Then the Secretary of the Treasury will find that *every* body wants coin, and we will have another panic like that of 1857, which was exclusively a money panic. Why not accept what the experience of the world has demonstrated, that the only safety is in a circulating medium largely composed of the precious metals? If we secure it, we shall be safe from a money panic for half a century. If we neglect it, we may repent our folly within a decade.

ANNUAL RECORD OF SCIENCE AND

INDUSTRY FOR 1878. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD. With the assistance of eminent men of science. 8vo, pp. 715. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1879.

This is the eighth of a series commenced in 1871, which took up the record of scientific and industrial progress where it was left off by the Annual of Scientific Discovery, which it succeeded. The original plan of arrangement was modified in the volume for 1877, and the change has been adhered to in the present volume. A table of contents supplies an analysis of the several articles on each branch of science, all of which are by eminent specialists, and a minute alphabetical index permits easy reference to any particular record of facts. The subject divisions are Astronomy, Physics of the Globe, Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Hydro-

graphy, Geography, Microscopy, Anthropology, Zoology, Vertebrate Zoology, Botany, Agriculture and Rural Economy, Engineering, Technology, Industrial Statistics, Necrology and Bibliography. The last division supplies a thorough list of all the scientific publications, serial and others, of the year. The work is indispensable to every general library.

STEIGER'S EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORY FOR 1878. 8vo, pp. 321. E. STEIGER. New York, 1878.

This, the first attempt at a complete Educational Directory, is a companion volume in the same field of publications already partially occupied by the *Cyclopædia of Education* and the *Year-book of Education*, the author of which was honored by the award of a medal at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. In the volume before us American educational institutions and American publications occupy the largest space, and it will be the most complete existing practical guide to books intended for teachers.

In its contents we find a list of educational institutions in the United States, British Dominions, Germany and Austria—France being omitted we regret to see; a catalogue of publications on educational and general philology, a list of books and other articles of interest to educators generally, a subject index to books, and some special notices of private educational institutions.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1878. 8vo, pp. 6. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1879.

This great collection, under the admirable care of its intelligent and industrious custodian, continues to increase with gratifying rapidity. The accession during the year 1878 were of books, 21,537; pamphlets, 11,689—the library now containing 352,655 volumes and 120,000 pamphlets. The printing of the new general catalogue has now advanced to the letter B. The urgent need of increased accommodation is again forcibly stated.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS UPON THE AMERICAN ARCHIVES, OR DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. 8vo, pp. 4. (May 15, 1879.)

This is in answer to the inquiry of the Joint Committee on the Library upon the manuscript material collected by the late Peter Force for the documentary history of the United States. An

account of the monumental labor of Mr. Force, and his difficulty in securing for it the attention of Congress, appeared in the April [1878] number of the Magazine [II. 221] over the signature of Professor G. W. Greene. The collection was purchased by Congress in 1867, the New York Historical Society narrowly missing an acquisition, which might have proved to them what is popularly termed "an elephant." The possession of such a colossal treasure brings with it duties and responsibilities of corresponding magnitude.

Congress had authorized the beginning of publication in 1833. Nine folio volumes were published between 1837 and 1844, when the appropriation was discontinued. Later, as we have said, Congress purchased the collection. Mr. Spofford estimates that to complete the period from 1776 to 1789 would require thirty folio volumes of eight hundred pages each. There is no reason why there should be any haste in this work—but an appropriation of five thousand dollars a year would enable the librarian to issue one volume a year with due care. This is the correct method.

THE LIBRARIES OF CALIFORNIA; CONTAINING DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES THROUGHOUT THE STATE. By FLORA HAINES APPONYI. 8vo, pp. 304. A. L. BANCROFT & Co., San Francisco, 1879.

But few persons are aware of the extent of the collections of art and literature in the Golden State. For years a steady stream of books of all kinds has been flowing westward, and even copies of the rarest of European imprints, old as well as new, daily take this direction. In this beautifully printed volume there is an account of a few of the largest of these collections. The cultivated lady, whose love of books has tempted her to the task, condemns with scorn the vulgarity of many of the rich parvenus of the cosmopolitan city, which has a certain future of wonderful development to look forward to, but offsets their ignorant assumption with the real refinement and culture to be found by those who seek or appreciate it. Of the public libraries she says that, after a brave battle with adversity, they are on solid ground at last, and she justly looks upon them as the hope of the community.

Among the collections noticed, special mention may be made of that of Hubert H. Bancroft, which contains twenty thousand volumes, and numerous manuscripts, covering the western portion of North America, and a vast amount of invaluable material for history. The northern territories and Alaska, as well as Mexico have all place among these. A smaller, but rare

library, rich in Spanish works, is the property of Messrs. Molera and Cebrian, two gentleman of that race.

The State Library at Sacramento numbers upwards of forty-eight thousand volumes; the University, of California, over sixteen thousand; the Mercantile Library has in its reading room files of four hundred newspapers, and a reference collection of two thousand volumes. The other public libraries are those of the Mechanic's Institute, the Odd Fellows, the Law, of eighteen thousand volumes, the third in extent in the United States. The Academy of Science has sixteen thousand; La Ligue Nationale Française, over two thousand, half French; the Society of California Pioneers, three thousand, the specialty being the early history of the Pacific coast; the Microscopic Society, four hundred on this subject alone; and the Young Men's Christian Association, over five thousand. In addition a table of the private law libraries shows over fifty-six thousand volumes.

If the motto, *qui legit regit*, be true, California has a sure empire. The work has been published by subscription, in an edition limited to five hundred copies. The author may be addressed at 14 Hampton Place, San Francisco.

We make an exception to the rule of the Magazine in this case, and add that the price of the volume is three and one-half dollars.

EDWARD CHAPMAN, OF IPSWICH, MASS., IN 1644, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS. Compiled by Rev. JACOB CHAPMAN and Dr. W. B. LAPHAM. 8vo, pp. 34. B. THURSTON & Co., Portland, 1878.

Several persons bearing the name of Chapman came early to America, but it does not appear that they were related in any way. The name is common in England, and also in the United States. The genealogies of the Connecticut families of this name were compiled by the late Rev. F. W. Chapman. The present paper gives an account of the family of Robert, a grantor of Ipswich in 1644, who is said to have emigrated from a place near Hull, Yorkshire, England.

MAP OF ELIZABETH TOWN, N. J., AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1775-1783. Showing that part of the Borough and Town of Elizabeth which is now the site of the City of Elizabeth. (36x24 inches, colored). By ERNEST L. MEYER, C. E., Elizabeth, N. J., 1879.

No more valuable contribution has been of late made to topographical and local history than this

admirably prepared and carefully executed chart of the old New Jersey town, celebrated in our history. It is the result of many years of research, by an accomplished and thorough surveyor, among the old records and deeds of the borough which supplied the old farm lines. It shows all the roads, water courses, property lines, and location of houses, woods, and orchards, the names of their owners, with well placed historical notes. In addition, and of great value in the centennial of the year of 1780, famous in Jersey annals, it gives the position held by the British forces at Elizabethtown Point from June 7th to 23d of that year. We commend it heartily to our readers. No historical library should be without it. The mechanical execution is beyond praise.

PAINE FAMILY RECORDS. Edited by H. D. PAINE, M. D. No. I., November, 1878; No. II., February, 1879; No. III., May, 1879. 8vo, pp. 76. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1878-9.

This is a serial publication, designed to collect and preserve the records of the family whose name it bears, and whose representatives, under the orthographic varieties of Payne, Paine, Payn, etc., are to be found in every State and territory in the Union. The first of the New England branch it is supposed was Thomas Paine, whose name appears as Deputy from Yarmouth to the First General Court of Plymouth Colony. Next comes William, who emigrated from England with his wife and children in 1635, and settled at Watertown. In these numbers are given the Southold, Ipswich, Worcester and Woodstock branches.

THE LADY OF THE AROOSTOOK. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 326. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

This story of Mr. Howells' is in his own peculiar vein. It bears the stamp of the Atlantic Monthly, and its atmosphere is cool as the breezes of Boston Bay. The dainty Lady of the Aroostook is thoroughly a type of interior New England, and her somewhat priggish admirers and companions in her sea voyage excellent specimens of the special variety of generous manhood, English indifference, and general self-satisfaction—bumptiousness, is the approved word—which old Harvard delights to graduate from its ancient halls. We have not much sympathy with Lady Lydia, little or none with Staniford, none whatever with Dunham, who play the parts of phone and antiphone as in a Greek chorus. The color is reserved for poor Hicks, who alone is allowed

to arouse a positive interest by his half-drunken vagaries. Excellent summer reading, however, and not enough excitement of narrative to prevent full enjoyment of the numerous passages of light, aromatic satire, in which Mr. Howells is a master. Even in the mannerisms of expression, such as "ethnic susceptibility to silver," applied to the black cook's greed, there is originality. There are descriptions, too, in neat mosaic of choice word painting, which show the clever adjustment of a thorough philologist. "Women," Mr. Howells says in one of his concluding axioms, which we much question, "are never blinded by romance, however much they like it in the abstract." This Lady of the Aroostook kept her eyes open and brought her bark to safe harbor, but all women do not reach Corinth, or leave it either, without mistaking fiction for truth, and losing their way in the glamorous seas of romance.

CENTENNIAL GATHERING OF THE HAYWARD FAMILY. With address by GEORGE W. HAYWARD, and poem by ALMIRA L. HAYWARD. Easton, August 14th, 1878. 8vo, pp. 35. JOHN S. SAMPSON, Taunton, Mass., 1879.

The centennial anniversary of the building of the Hayward Family Mansion was observed on the 14th August, 1878, by a grand gathering on the grounds of Captain George Washington Hayward (then in his seventy-second year), in the southerly part of Easton, Mass. A company of seven or eight hundred persons was present. The family of Hayward descends from Thomas Hayward and Susanna his wife, who emigrated from Aylsford, Kent County, England, and settled in Dunbury in 1635.

GENEALOGY OF THE FIELDS, OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND. As traced by Mrs. HARRIET A. BROWNELL, of Providence, R. I., mainly from records and papers in Rhode Island. Printed for private distribution. 8vo, pp. 65. J. A. and R. A. REID, Providence, 1878.

An account is here given of the descendants of William and John Field, who emigrated to this country in 1636, and settled in Providence soon after. It is still a mooted question whether or not these two men were related; the general belief being that they were brothers. There is also a record of the family of Zachariah Field, who lived in Providence in 1637, traced separately. Cyrus W. Field traces his descent from him.

THE DOGS OF GREAT BRITAIN, AMERICA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES; THEIR BREEDING, TRAINING, AND MANAGEMENT IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. Comprising all the essential parts of the two standard works on the dog by Stonehenge, together with chapters by American writers. With over one hundred illustrations. 12mo, pp. 383. ORANGE JUDD CO., New York, 1879.

Who does not love a dog; and yet how little is known of his training, care, and treatment—in a word of his education. J. H. Walsh, better known by his *nom de plume*, Stonehenge, is the accepted English authority on this subject. His two works are included in this volume. The immense interest shown in the subject by the splendid dog conferences or bench shows, as the annual exhibitions are termed, and the vast throngs who have visited them annually since their inception in 1877, prompted this volume, to which Messrs. David W. Judd, Henry Stewart, and F. R. Ryer, thorough experts in all that pertains to this branch of humanity (the word is used advisedly), have contributed additional information, the whole forming, without exception, the best book on the dog ever printed in America. The plates are admirable. By them alone the merest tyro may know what manner of dog he has to deal with. No one who owns a dog should be without it. That the brute creation are at last receiving some little attention is one of the most promising signs of our progressing civilization.

DETMOLD. A Romance. By W. H. BISHOP. 32mo, pp. 286. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

Messrs. Henry James, Jr., and Howells must look to their laurels. Nothing has ever come from the pen of either more perfect in style, more exquisite in finish, more tender in sentiment, than *Detmold*. It can hardly be called a novel, the field and characters which occupy it being limited, but rather a tale, in the manner of James's *Passionate Pilgrim*, or Howells' *Chance Acquaintance*, each the best effort of its writer. There is a flavor of Taine also in the minuteness of the descriptions. The scene is laid in Verona, and the incidents of the romance are pleasantly relieved by a running account of the wonderful Lombard irrigation, admirably interwoven by its natural connection with the studies of a young gentleman, who proposes the introduction of the system into one of the arid valleys of California.

This class of literature is extremely fascinating, and although not in the least exciting or dramatic,

affords room for drawings of nature and an analysis of the most delicate traits of human character; and Detmold is delightful.

LIFE OF COLONEL AARON BURR,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
With Portrait, autograph and hitherto unpublished letters; also sketches of his father, etc.
By CHARLES BURR TODD. Reprinted from the author's history of the Burr family. 8vo, pp. 139. Appendix, pp. 8. S. W. GREEN, New York, 1879.

A better, or more succinct account of Burr, his father, and his daughter Theodosia, could hardly be found than this brief sketch. His military, political, and professional career are each treated in turn. Of course the pamphlet is a defence of the man who for years was in the front rank of observation, but it is modestly and discreetly written.

NOTES ON THE MANUFACTURE OF POTTERY AMONG SAVAGE RACES. By LT. FRED. HARTT, late Chief of the Geological Commission of Brazil. From the American Naturalists for February, 1879. pp. 78-93.

According to the writer the use of pottery is unknown to many savage people; as for instance, the Esquimaux, the Northern Indians of North America. Among the Algonkin tribes of Canada and the northeastern United States, cooking was often in vessels of bark. The various systems of clay baking or pottery are here intelligently described, and the pamphlet is an excellent hand-book for the antiquary engaged in this line of research.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF BATTLES AND ENGAGEMENTS OF THE WESTERN ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, INCLUDING SUMMARY OF LIEUT.-GEN. JOSEPH WHEELER'S CAVALRY ENGAGEMENTS. By EDWIN L. DRAKE, Lieut.-Col., C. S. A. 8vo, pp. 99. TAVEL, EASTMAN & HOWELL, Nashville, 1879.

In a brief preface Dr. Drake, who is known as the editor of the Annals of the army of Tennessee, expresses the difficulty of reaching any true statement of losses, owing to the want of anything like full systematic printed records from the Confederate States. He requests specific information, in tabular form if convenient, of every affair in the west.

A STORY OR TWO FROM AN OLD DUTCH TOWN. By ROBERT LOWELL. 16mo, pp. 322. ROBERTS BROTHERS, Boston, 1878.

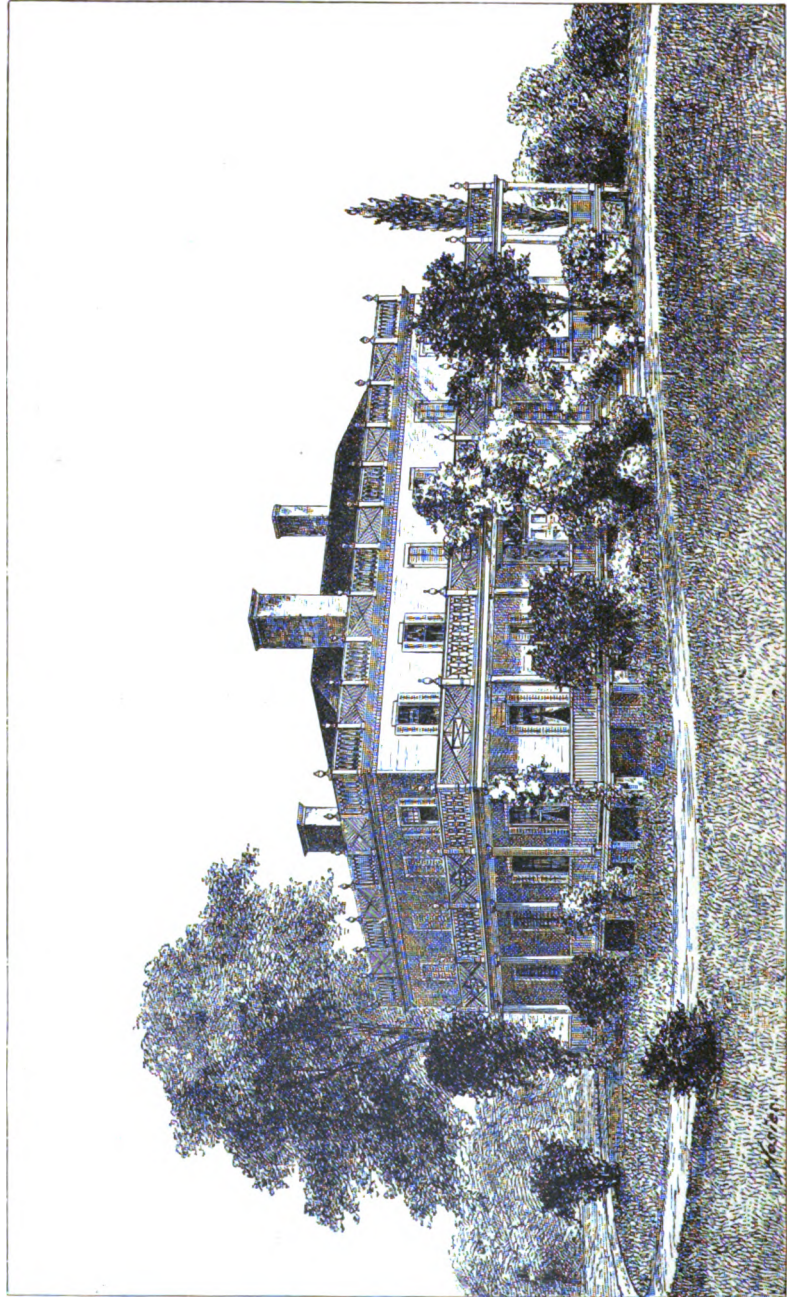
The scene of this simple story is laid in the town of Westervliet, which may mean Schenectady or any other of the old Dutch settlements of the State of New York where the names of Van Zandt, Schermerhorn, Bleeker, Van Cortlandt, and others are still to be found in abundance, but not in the numbers that they were fifty years ago, when the action of the narrative begins. The quiet drowsiness of the period seems to have thoroughly permeated the author, and subdued his hand to that it worked in.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT. NARRAGANSETT SEA AND SHORE. An illustrated guide to Providence, Newport, Narragansett Pier, Block Island, Watch Hill, Rocky Point, Silver Spring and all the famous sea-side resorts of Rhode Island. With a Map of Narragansett Bay. By FREDERIC DENISON. 8vo, pp. 88. J. A. & R. A. REID, Providence, 1879.

The summer tourist who would enjoy the manifold pleasures which Narragansett supplies to the outer and inner man, will find excellent advice in this cheap and convenient hand-book, which is appropriately entitled, Picturesque Narragansett Sea and Shore. It abounds in illustrations, and records the romance as well as the history of the location.

ON CHAMPLAIN'S ASTROLABE, LOST ON THE 7TH JUNE, 1613, AND FOUND IN AUGUST, 1867. Considered in solution of an obscurity in his Journal of his first voyage up the Ottawa, and the great antiquity of astrolabes and origin of their graduation. By A. J. RUSSELL. 8vo, pp. 24. DAWSON BROS., Montreal, 1879.

In the March number of the Magazine (III., 179), an account was given by Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, of the astrolabe found at Ross Renfrew County, Ontario, Canada, in the summer of 1867, and accompanying it a view of the instrument, which it is supposed was lost by Champlain in 1613. In this treatise the same subject is discussed and the same conclusions arrived at. It contains also a photographic picture of the astrolabe, and a map showing Champlain's route through Muskrat Province in the year named. The history of astrolabes, as instruments of science, is valuable.



THE GRACIE MANSION—GRACIE'S POINT—NEW YORK

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NOVEMBER 1879

No. 11

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS OF THE UPPER ALLEGHENY

1779

A CENTURY has elapsed since the council fire of the Six Nations was extinguished, and their Long House destroyed. The firmness and tact of this little confederacy, enabled it for more than an hundred years, to maintain its ancient seats along the rivers and lakes of central New York against powerful neighbors. With the French close on one side, and the English upon the other, a less vigorous people would have been crushed as between two mill stones. Although these Indians were of a barbarous race, and few in numbers, their story will not be soon forgotten. Their military enterprise and conquests justly gained for them the title of "Romans of the West," and their practical wisdom enabled them to frame a perfect Representative Federal Republic, which a trial during a period longer than the existence of our own Republic, has proved to have been as efficient in practice as it was perfect in theory; an achievement that had long baffled the skill of enlightened statesmen, and which is alone sufficient to render the name of the Iroquois illustrious. This rare piece of Indian workmanship affords remarkable evidence of their political sagacity, and presents the paradox, that unlettered men, by simple methods, can effect results that cultivated minds accomplish only after great effort. These achievements, the eloquence of their orators, and the prominent part they filled in the early history of this country, will prevent the name of this people from soon fading into oblivion.

At the commencement of the revolution, the Six Nations held friendly relations with all their white neighbors, whether adherents to Congress or the Crown. But the wanton massacre of Logan's family, and other enormities committed by the whites during Cresaps' war, had weakened their friendship for the colonies. The authority that Colonel

Guy and Sir John Johnson, and Colonel Daniel Claus, who succeeded to the power that Sir William Johnson possessed with the Indians, and the influence of Colonel John Butler and his son Walter, influential citizens of the Mohawk Valley, were exerted to attach the Confederacy to the King. Joseph Brant and his sister Molly, strived also to embitter the Mohawks against the colonies. On the other hand, the patriots of Tryon County, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Chief, Shenandoah, endeavored to persuade the Indians to pursue a neutral policy. The Indians for some time hesitated. Councils were held with them by patriots and by loyalists, with the result that the Oneidas, a large portion of the Tuscaroras, a portion of the Onondagas, and a few of the Mohawks, favored the Americans. But the greater number, of whom the Senecas and Mohawks were foremost, under the lead of Brant and the Seneca chiefs, became their bitter and active foes.

The first hostilities of which we learn, were committed in May, 1776, by Brant and the Mohawks, at the Battle of the Cedars, which occurred about forty miles above Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence. The hostile Indians next joined the forces of St. Leger, participated in the siege of Fort Stanwix, and in the desperate battle of Oriskany. Then followed the massacre of Wyoming, and raids into the Mohawk Valley; and finally, November, 1778, occurred the burning and massacre of Cherry Valley. The barbarities committed in these bloody forays have been in some instances exaggerated. Too much, perhaps, has been charged upon the Indians, and too little upon the Tories and refugees who accompanied them. The inhabitants on the border, however, suffered so greatly from these incursions, that the States became aroused to the necessity of waging a more decisive war on the frontier, and Congress, on the 25th of February, 1779, by a resolution, directed Washington to take the most effective measures to protect the settlers and chastise the Indians. Accordingly he planned two expeditions; one to proceed from the east, penetrate into the Seneca country, and devastate the fields of the Indians, destroy their villages, and drive their inhabitants into the woods; the other to advance up the Allegheny River, and in like manner destroy the Indian towns and fields there, and ultimately join the expedition from the east in a combined attack upon Fort Niagara.

The expedition from the east moved in two divisions. One under the immediate command of General Sullivan, left Wyoming, ascended the Susquehanna, and arrived at Tioga, August 11th, 1779. The other, under General James Clinton, marched from Canajoharie on the

Mohawk, passed over Otsego Lake, descended the Susquehanna, and joined General Sullivan August 22d. A part of Clinton's force, under Colonel Van Schaick, had previously destroyed the fields and towns of the Onondagas. The two divisions, consisting in the aggregate of five thousand men, under the command of Sullivan, moved forward from Tioga up the Chemung River. They defeated the British and Indians at Elmira on the 29th of August, in the battle of Newton, and immediately pushed forward into the heart of the Indian country. They advanced to the head of Seneca Lake, and thence along its shores, destroying the Indian towns on the way, including the large Indian village of Kanadaseagea at its outlet. They then proceeded to the Genesee River, and destroyed the large villages and extensive cornfields there. The original design of advancing on Fort Niagara having been abandoned, Sullivan commenced his return march. On his way he caused the towns and fields of the Cayugas, which were situated on the eastern and southwestern shore of Cayuga Lake, to be destroyed. He arrived at Tioga on the 30th of September, and at Easton, Pennsylvania, on the 15th of October, having destroyed forty Indian towns, and one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of Indian corn, besides a large amount of other property.

As a less full history has been written of the expedition moving from the south, it is the design of this article to supply some account of it. First, however, a brief description should be given of the Indian settlements along the Allegheny River.

When the Iroquois first became known to Europeans, their villages and hunting grounds were confined to central New York. The fierce wars which they subsequently waged, and by which kindred nations—the Hurons, Neutrals, Eries and Andastes—were successively vanquished, secured to them an extensive territory to the west and south of their domains, including the mountainous region of New York and Pennsylvania which was traversed by the Allegheny River. Their enterprise soon led them to new hunting grounds, and finally to establish villages in this conquered territory. The Senecas, who dwelt at the western limits of the Confederacy, were its most numerous and warlike nation. The greater number of their villages were situated along the Genesee. They ultimately became the chief colonizers of the Confederacy. They did not extend their settlements directly westward, or along the shore of Lake Erie, until near the close of the revolution, excepting only in the immediate vicinity of Fort Niagara. They seemed to prefer the rivers and their tributaries, and the shores of the

smaller lakes. They extended their towns up the Genesee to Canadea. A broad Indian trail joined this settlement with the Upper Allegheny at Olean, in New York. They then planted their villages along the Allegheny and its tributaries to its mouth, and thence down the Ohio. The Seneca villages were the most numerous along the Upper Allegheny. As early as 1724, the Munsey or Wolf tribe of the Delawares, who had previously dwelt in northeastern Pennsylvania, but had been crowded out by the encroachments of the whites, were allowed by the Six Nations to settle along the Lower Allegheny; and between 1724 and 1728, the Shawnees, a restless and warlike people, located along the Lower Allegheny and Upper Ohio. The Indians of these different tribes were often found strangely mingled, living peaceably together in one village, at the same time observing different customs, and obeying different laws.

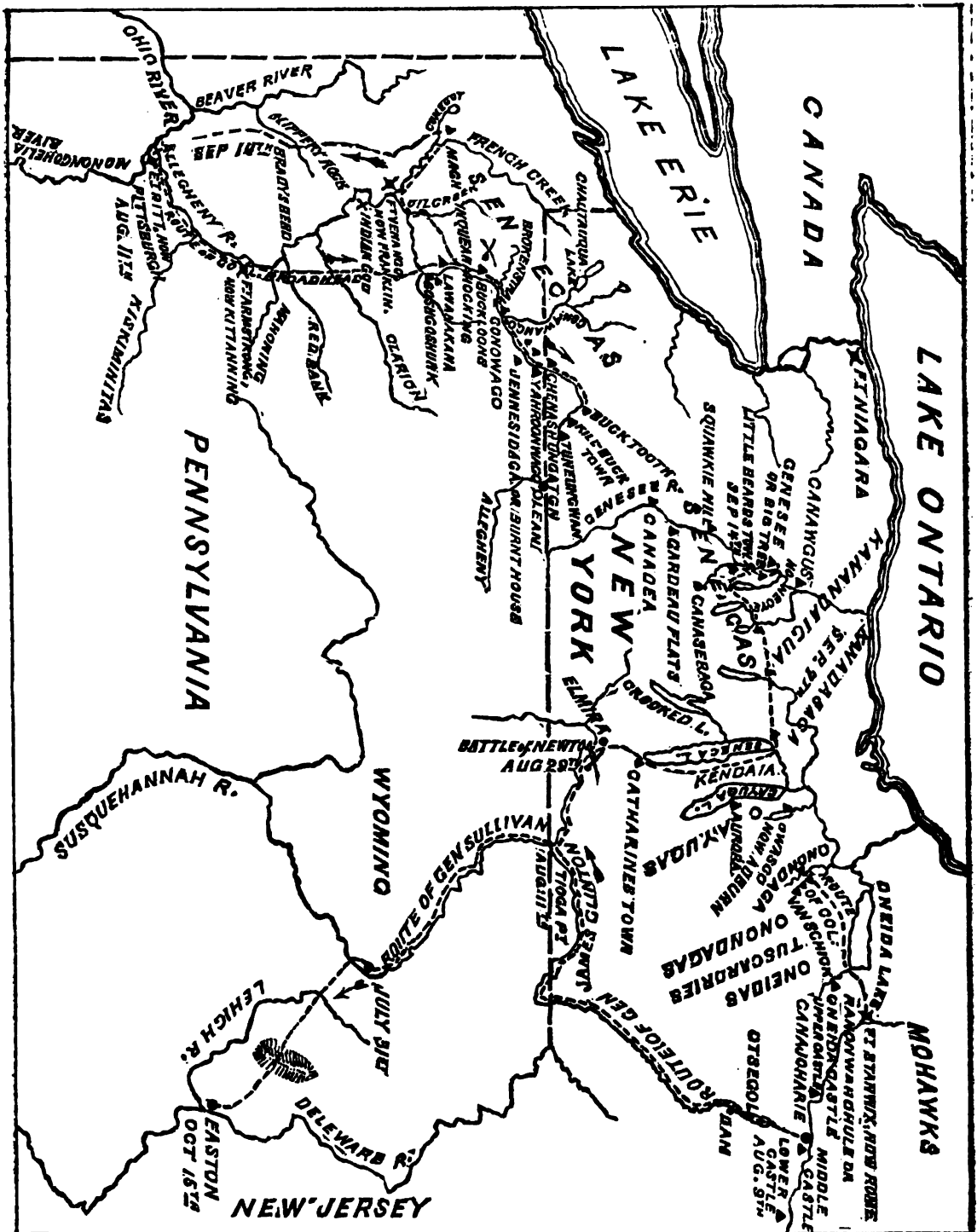
The first accurate knowledge acquired by Europeans concerning the Indian settlements along the Allegheny, was obtained during the expedition under Captain Bienville De Céleron, which was sent in the summer of 1749, by the Governor of Canada, to take formal possession, in the name of France, of the territory lying west of the Allegheny Mountains. From the records kept by the expedition, we learn that it ascended the St. Lawrence, coasted along the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and arrived at "Chatakouin" portage the 16th of June, 1749. It passed over the portage to the head of Chautauqua, then a secluded but, as now, beautiful sheet of water, buried in the depths of the forest. Having traversed this lake, the expedition descended its outlet and the Conawango Creek in canoes, and entered the Allegheny ten miles south of the boundary line between the States of New York and Pennsylvania, just above the village of Warren. On the south bank of the Allegheny, opposite the mouth of the Conawango, Céleron buried a leaden plate, inscribed with the date and place of deposit, as a token of his possession of the country in the name of the King of France. On the right bank of the Allegheny, occupying the site of the present village of Warren, there was then an Indian village called "Kanaougon." It was inhabited by Senecas and Loups, or Munseys. This village was called Conawago by Colonel Brodhead when he visited the place just thirty years later. Céleron descended the river, and on its right bank, about six miles below this town, on a beautiful prairie now owned by Dr. William A. Irvine, and just below the mouth of the Broken Straw Creek, he found a Seneca village which he called *Paille Coupée*, or Cut Straw. Its Seneca name was De-ga-syo-ush-dy-ah-goh, meaning Broken Straw;

referring, it is said by Alden, to the accumulation of straw and drift wood in the waters of the creek; but more likely, as we are informed by General Callender Irvine, who preemted the land at the confluence of the Broken Straw and the Allegheny in 1795, and was familiar with the Indians and early traditions of that region, to the broken straws and drooping plumes of the tall wild grass that stood thickly on the meadows there, after the storms of autumn had swept over them. This Indian village was called Buck a loons by Colonel Brodhead. Four French leagues below this town the expedition came to a village of ten houses on the left bank of the river, inhabited by Delawares and Renards. Four or five leagues further down they passed a village of six houses on the right bank of the river. This may have been situated near the present site of Hickory Town, in Venango Co., and identical with the Indian village familiar to the Moravians as Lawanakana, meaning Middle Branch or Stream, or where the waters meet. They next passed a village of ten houses, probably the same that was afterwards known to the Moravians as Gosh-gosh-unk, or Place of Hogs. The expedition then came to an Indian village of ten houses, subsequently called Venango by the English, a corruption of the Indian word In-nun-gah, alluding to a rude and indecent figure that the Senecas found carved upon a tree when they first came to this region. This town was situated near the site of the present enterprising town of Franklin, at the mouth of the *Rivière Aux Boeufs*, now called French Creek. Nine miles below Franklin there still remains, close to the water's edge, on the eastern side of the river, a large rock, covered with curious Indian carvings, which has excited the interest of passers by from the earliest French and English explorers to the raftsmen of the present day. It is called the "Indian God," and near it Céleron buried his second leaden plate. Passing a river having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois, the expedition came to Attique, a large village of twenty-two houses, situated on or near the Kiskiminitas River. Below this town they passed an old Shawneese village, upon the right bank of the river, and came finally to a village of Delawares, the finest seen, and which is supposed to have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburg. From this place, the expedition proceeded on its way down the Ohio. There had undoubtedly occurred some changes in the situation and population of the Indian towns along this river during the thirty years that elapsed between Céleron's and Brodhead's expeditions.

When Washington in November, 1753, on his journey to French

Creek, arrived at the junction of the Allegheny with the Monongahela, where Pittsburg is situated, no white man was living there. During the succeeding February the English commenced to lay the foundation of a fort there, which was taken from them by the French the April following. The French held Pittsburg, then called Du Quesne, until 1758, when it was retaken by the English under General Forbes. It remained in their possession until the Revolution, when a party of Virginians under Captain Neville took possession, and held it until they were superseded by the Continentals under Brigadier-General Hand. Hand was in turn succeeded by Brigadier-Generals Lochlan and McIntosh, and he by Colonel Daniel Brodhead,¹ whom we find in command early in 1779. It was during this year, while Brodhead was in command of the Western Department, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt, that the campaign was planned and prosecuted against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny. General Washington, as it has been stated, desired that the expedition sent north from Pittsburg should coöperate with the expedition from the east under Sullivan. With this object in view, he directed Colonel Rawlings to march with three companies from Fort Frederick in Maryland to Pittsburg. He also directed Colonel Brodhead, upon his arrival there, to increase Rawlings' force to one hundred men, and send them up the river to Kittanning, and there throw up a stockade fort for the security of convoys; and when completed, to leave a small garrison, proceed still further up the river to Venango, and there establish another post for the same purpose; and to direct Colonel Gibson,² of the Seventh Virginia Regiment, who was stationed at Tuscarawas, to hold himself in readiness to join the forces at Pittsburg. Also to prepare water craft and engage good guides, "who know the way from the head of navigation of the Allegheny to the nearest Indian towns, and to Niagara." Also to report by express "when he would be ready to begin his movement; when he would be at Kittanning, Venango, and the head of navigation, and how far it would be to the nearest Indian towns, and to Niagara;" and to keep all a profound secret until the proper time should arrive. He also gave Colonel Brodhead careful directions how in the meantime to pacify the Western Indians, so that they would not interfere with his success. Notwithstanding these careful plans, further consideration induced Washington a month later to relinquish the idea of concert of action between the two expeditions. The difficulty of providing supplies in time, want of information of the route and country up the Allegheny, and between that river and the Indian settlements

ROUTE OF BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION



on the Genesee, and consequently the uncertainty of cooperation to advantage, were his principal reasons for abandoning the original plan. He, however, directed Colonel Brodhead to make preparation, and, as soon as it was in his power, to chastise the Indians by an expedition into their country; also to make inquiries with a view to an attempt against Detroit. An enterprise against that post, whence marauding parties of British and Indians had proceeded against the extreme western settlements, had been a favorite scheme with Colonel Brodhead's predecessor, Colonel McIntosh, as it afterwards became with Brodhead himself.

The Government had been able to place at the disposal of Colonel Brodhead only a dispersed and feeble force, by which to protect the wide borders of Pennsylvania against the cruelties of the Indians. On the 15th of April his regiment, the Eighth Pennsylvania, was much scattered. Besides a portion at Fort Pitt, there were one hundred men at Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawa, twenty-five at Wheeling, Virginia, twenty-five at Holliday's Cove, some at Fort McIntosh in Beaver County, some employed as artificers, and some as boatmen and waggoners. Colonel Brodhead was energetic, active, and ambitious to serve his country, but he found his duties arduous and disagreeable. The population of this thinly settled frontier, from which he was to draw recruits and obtain supplies, harassed by incursions of the Indians, and wearied by the long continuance of the war, were in a destitute condition; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could keep his soldiers clad and fed. Yet during the summer of 1779 he made vigorous preparations to strike a blow that would prove a diversion in favor of General Sullivan. Profiting by the suggestions of Washington, made when cooperation between the two expeditions was contemplated, he commenced constructing canoes and batteaux at Fort Pitt and at other posts. He had as many as one hundred and fifty boatbuilders employed at one time. On the 31st of July he had about sixty boats nearly finished. Some of the canoes made of poplar would carry two tons. About the middle of June Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard, by his command, commenced the construction of a fort at Kittanning, which was completed during the last of July, and called Fort Armstrong, in commemoration of the exploit of Colonel John Armstrong in September, 1756, when he surprised and burned the old Indian town of Cattauyan, which then stood there, killing thirty or forty of its Indian defenders, including their resolute chief, Captain Jacobs. Hugh Mercer, afterwards a distinguished American General, who fell at the

battle of Princeton, accompanied Armstrong on this expedition. Colonel Brodhead exerted himself also to secure the friendship of the Delawares, and to excite them to war against the Six Nations. He secured the adhesion of Killbuck and other warriors, and also that of the young Delaware Chief Nanoland, who subsequently distinguished himself on several occasions. While making preparations for the campaign, early in the summer, he received private intelligence that Butler and two hundred Rangers and a number of Indians designed making an attack upon the frontier, west of Laurel Hills, when the strawberries should become ripe; and during all the spring and summer prowling parties of Indians committed murders in Western Pennsylvania. These dangers required constant vigilance upon the part of Colonel Brodhead, and obliged him to keep parties of Rangers traversing the wilderness to protect the inhabitants. In June Lieutenant Hardian, a brave partizan officer, who had often distinguished himself, was sent with eleven men, skilled in the warfare of the border, towards the Seneca country. Lieutenant Peterson and Ensigns Morrison and Wood led other parties towards the Indian towns. In June three men, who had been sent to reconnoitre in the Seneca country, returning from Venango, were pursued by a party of Indian warriors some distance below Kittanning, and narrowly escaped. These Indians proceeded to the Sewickly settlement, on their way killed a soldier, and upon their arrival there, a woman and four children, and took two others captives. Captain Brady,* who, with twenty men and the young Delaware Chief Nanoland, was on his way towards the Seneca country, fell in with seven of these Indians about fifteen miles above Kittanning, at a point on the river now well known as Brady's Bend. Brady attacked them at the break of day, killed their captain and mortally wounded the most of them, but the Indians staunched their wounds so that they could not be traced, and the greater number succeeded in escaping into a remarkable thicket lying at hand. In the language of Colonel Brodhead in a letter to Washington, "Brady retook six horses, two prisoners, the scalps, and all the plunder, which was considerable; and took six guns, and every thing else the Indians had, except their breech clouts." The young Delaware Chief Nanoland greatly distinguished himself on this occasion.

Brodhead fixed the early part of August as the time for his movement against the Indians, for the reason that it would then be between harvest and seeding, when he could expect volunteers from the country. It would also be before the corn of the Indians could ripen and be car-

ried away by them; and for the further reason, that the term of service of two hundred of his men would expire on the 10th of the succeeding month. The movement which he contemplated he intended as a diversion in favor of Sullivan, and also to cause as great destruction of Indian towns and fields as possible. This obviously could best be effected in the region around the headwaters of the Allegheny. On the 17th of July he addressed a letter to Colonels Lochry, Shepherd, Stephenson and Evans, Lieutenants of the counties of Westmoreland, Ohio, Yoghaganian and Monongahela, to engage as many volunteers as possible for two or three weeks' service. He promised to well treat and pay them, and give them an equal share of the plunder. In this letter he fixed the 5th day of August as the time to rendezvous at headquarters for the excursion. He directed Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard, who was in command at Fort Armstrong, and the commandants in other localities to forward troops to headquarters. Being nearly ready for his march, he on the 6th of August dispatched two soldiers with a letter to General Sullivan. This letter in a few words fully expresses the purposes of the expedition. It is as follows:

Head Quarters, Pittsburgh, August 6th, 1779.

Dear General—

I have obtained leave from his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, to undertake an expedition against the Seneca Towns, on the waters of the Allegheny; and he has directed me to open a correspondence with you, in order that our movements might operate in favor of each other. I shall be very happy in such a correspondence (if it can be effected without too great a loss of Messengers), and an opportunity of favoring your designs against the enemy, but fear this will not reach you in time to form a useful cooperation.

I have every thing in readiness, and am only waiting for the garrison of Fort Laurens to come in. If no unforeseen impediment happens, I shall set out for Canawago in three or four days, and expect to reach it about the 20th inst. I do not intend to stop there, but expect to proceed nearer to the route I am informed you are going, and will endeavor to write you again. I have twelve Delaware warriors ready, and have the promise of a number more. The Cherokee Chiefs have entered into Articles of Confederation here, and received from my hand the war-belt and tomahawks.

Should you have a little leisure, you will greatly oblige me with a long letter; I have but little news. The Indians sometimes take a scalp from us, but my light parties, which I dress and paint like Indians, have retaliated in several instances. They have destroyed one whole party of Munseys except two, and they went

home wounded and quite naked. I think they are willing by this time to make peace, but I hope it will not be granted them until they are sufficiently drubbed for their iniquities.

With the most perfect regard, and esteem, I have the honor to be, General,
your most obed't h'ble Serv't,

DANIEL BRODHEAD,

Col. Commanding W. D.

We have not the names of the messengers sent upon this difficult and perilous duty, through the wilds of Western Pennsylvania, over rivers and mountains, between Pittsburg and the Tioga. They reached their destination in safety however, and delivered the letter to General Sullivan; and he from Catherinestown, at the head of Seneca Lake, wrote a reply, which these adventurous men bore back through the wilderness, and delivered to Colonel Brodhead in September at Pittsburg a few days after his return from the expedition.

The march was delayed until the 11th of August. On that day, at the head of six hundred and five men, rank and file, including militia and volunteers, and with one month's provisions, Brodhead set out from Pittsburg. The expedition proceeded up the river, partly by water and partly by land. It passed the Kiskeminitas and Crooked Creek, and forty-five miles above Pittsburg, Fort Armstrong, where now stands, in the midst of an iron and coal country, the thriving town of Kittanning. Here a garrison had been retained, but Colonel Brodhead moved forward without delay, fifteen miles farther, to the mouth of the Mahoning, a tributary of the Allegheny from the east, at the mouth of which was situated an Indian village. At this place, after a detention of four days by excessive rains and the straying of some cattle, the stores were loaded upon pack-horses, and the expedition proceeded wholly by land. For miles above the Mahoning the Allegheny is circuitous and crooked; to avoid following its winding course, and to shorten his march, Colonel Brodhead chose a blind and rugged path, that led more directly to the Indian country of the Upper Allegheny, by the way of the Indian town, called Goshgoshunk, upon the river, near the mouth of its tributary, the Tionesta. His march through the forests of Clarion and Venango counties was beset with many difficulties. Thorns, thick underwood and fallen timber obstructed his way. The obscure wilderness path that he followed led up steep ascents, and over ranges of lofty hills, from the crests of which extended and magnificent views were to be had of the wild mountainous regions of Western Pennsylvania. Again the path would descend into some gloomy valley, where the sunlight scarcely pene-

trated, and was traversed by the Red Bank, the Clarion, or some dark rolling tributary. At Goshgoshunk the path crossed the Allegheny. Here had been three Munsey villages, where Rev. David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, commenced in 1767 to teach the Indians. He and his coadjutor, Br. Gotlob Senseman, daily preached the Gospel to their red hearers, who came with faces painted black and vermillion, and with heads decorated with fox-tails and feathers, in great numbers to listen. The missionaries brought with them several Moravian families, built a block-house, and established a regular mission there. Among the Indians, the magicians and old women violently opposed the Moravians. "They avered that the corn was blasted; the deer and game began to retire from the woods; no chestnuts and bilberrys would grow, because the missionaries preached a strange doctrine, and the Indians were changing in their way of life;" and Ziesberger was compelled to remove, fifteen miles farther up the river, to Lawanakana, near Hickory Town, where he gathered around him a little settlement, built a chapel, and placed in it a bell, the first ever heard in Venango county; and he here for two years prosecuted his holy purpose.

The expedition of Brodhead crossed the river at Goshgoshunk, and pursued its march along the western shore. High hills—spurs of the Allegheny mountains—bordered one side of the way, and the clear waters of the river flowed on the other. Yet the route at this place was even more difficult and perilous than that through the forests of Clarion county. Beetling cliffs pressed close to the river's side, leaving a passage much of the way no wider than an Indian trail, through which he was compelled to march. It was in one of these dangerous defiles that his advanced guard, consisting of fifteen white men and eight Delaware Indians, under Lieutenant Hardian, saw thirty or forty Indian warriors descending the river in seven canoes. The Indians at the same time discovered the troops, and immediately landed, stripped off their shirts, and prepared for action. Lieutenant Hardian disposed his men in a semi-circular form, and they, with tomahawk in hand, began the attack with such courage and vigor that the Indians soon gave way and fled; part, plunging into the water, escaped across the river, and the remainder, favored by the thick bushes, secured safety on land. The main body of the troops, with the exception of one column and flankers, were at the time in a narrow pass between the river and a high precipice. The troops had great confidence in Colonel Brodhead, and he was consequently able to quickly prepare his men for

action, which being done, he passed to the front in season to see the Indians retreating across the river. Of the Indians in this engagement, six or seven were killed, their bodies left upon the field; several also were wounded. The canoes of the Indians and their contents, which included clothing and guns, fell into the hands of Colonel Brodhead. Of his force, three men only were slightly wounded, one of whom was the Delaware Indian, Nanoland. The celebrated scout, Jonathan Zane,⁴ was also one of the wounded. This encounter probably occurred near Thompson's Island in Warren county, five miles below the mouth of the Broken Straw. Colonel Thomas Proctor in 1791 journeyed from Philadelphia upon a mission to the Western Indians to persuade them to peace. On his way he visited the Allegheny River, and was there joined by Cornplanter with a fleet of thirty canoes. On the 11th of April they arrived at an old Indian settlement called Hogstown (undoubtedly Goshgoshunk), and afterwards proceeded up the river to Hickory Town (Lawanakana). On the 13th of April they set out from Hickory Town, and ascended the Allegheny ten miles to Log Trap Creek. Colonel Proctor states in his journal that he, the next day, the 14th, "Proceeded up the river to-day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyou dang Creek, it being the place where Colonel Brodhead in 1779 had fought against the savages, and in which action Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded."

The day after this affair Brodhead resumed his march, and arrived in the morning at the Indian town of Buckaloons, just below the mouth of the Broken Straw. The Indians were driven from the village, and retreated to the hills in its rear.⁴ A breastwork of felled timber and fascines was thrown up. The remains of this stockade were plainly to be seen a few years ago. It was situated about one-half mile above the mouth of the Broken Straw, on the west side of the road from Irvinton to Warren, upon a high bluff by the Allegheny, and commanded an extensive view up and down the river. A captain and garrison of forty men were left to guard the baggage and stores, and the troops immediately marched to Conawago, the Seneca town that stood where the thriving village of Warren is now situated. Conawago they found had been deserted for about eighteen months. Brodhead, it is said, sent a force several miles up the Conawago, and found deserted villages there.

The country around the headwaters of the Allegheny, and much of western New York, was then a region unexplored by white men. Undoubtedly there were with this expedition most experienced hunters

and bordermen; yet no one was sufficiently familiar with the country above the mouth of the Conawago to guide the expedition directly to the upper Seneca towns, which were the most important settlements upon the river. This led to much uneasiness upon the part of the troops. Colonel Brodhead, however, promptly ordered the force to proceed upon an Indian path that appeared to have been for some time used. The expedition advanced by this route up the right or west bank of the river with the utmost dispatch. After a march of twenty miles, without discovering other signs of Indian occupation or presence than a few tracks of their scouts, upon arriving at the crest of a high hill, they saw the sparkling waters of the Allegheny glistening beneath them, and along either side of the winding river the broad and luxuriant cornfields of the Indians. A little after, on descending the hill, they came in sight of their towns, which had just been deserted. These Indian villages and cultivated fields were situated above the modern village of Kinjua, along the Allegheny for a distance of about eight miles, their northern limit being not far from the boundary line between the States of New York and Pennsylvania. Colonel Brodhead estimated that there were in these Indian villages as many as one hundred and thirty unusually large houses; some of them sufficient to accommodate three or four Indian families. Here was seen the natural superiority of the Six Nations over the other Indian races in the advance in civilization that they had made in this isolated region, far away from civilizing influences. Their houses were substantial; some of them constructed of logs, a part of round and others of square timber, while others were frame buildings. Around them were extensive and highly cultivated fields of grain and vegetables. Colonel Brodhead declared that he never saw finer corn than in these fields, although it stood much thicker than white farmers plant this grain. From the great quantity of corn that was here in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, Colonel Brodhead inferred that the whole of the Seneca and Munsey nations contemplated settling here. At the approach of the advanced guard to the first of these villages, the Indians fled, leaving several packs of deer-skins. Upon the arrival of the main body of the troops, the work of destruction was commenced, and continued for three whole days without the least interruption from the Indians, they having retreated to the woods for safety. Eight towns, deserted by their inhabitants, were first set in flames; the corn was next cut down and piled into heaps; over five hundred acres, at the least estimate, were destroyed. Three thousand

dollars worth of plunder was taken, which Colonel Brodhead ordered sold for the benefit of the troops. At the Upper Seneca town was found a painted war-post or pagod, clothed in dog-skins, which was committed to the river. This place was called Youghroonwago.

Colonel Brodhead makes no mention of having advanced beyond these Indian towns. Mrs. Mary Jemmison, who is usually accurate, states in her narrative that he ascended to Olean Point, destroying all the Indian villages on the Allegheny River. In Cattaraugus county there was at this time, at the mouth of Cold Spring Creek, the village of Che-na-shun-ga-tan; at the mouth of Little Valley Creek, the village of Buck-tooth; at the mouth of Great Valley Creek, Killbuck's-town; and in the town of Carrollton, Tu-ne-nu-gwan—all of which were destroyed, if any detachment of Colonel Brodhead's command reached Olean Point. The latter place is situated upon the Allegheny River, in the southeast part of Cattaraugus county, New York, and is distant less than thirty miles from Canadea, an Indian town on the Genesee River, and less than sixty miles from the larger Indian towns destroyed by General Sullivan.

Brodhead's expedition was in advance of that of Sullivan. About the time the former was completing the destruction of the Seneca towns on the Allegheny, the latter, having been joined by the troops of General Clinton, was more than one hundred miles to the east, contesting the battle of Newton with the forces of Brant and Butler at Elmira; and it was not until two weeks later that Sullivan had reached the heart of the Seneca country on the Genesee River, and entered upon the destruction of the Indian towns and the corn and orchards. This early movement upon the part of Brodhead undoubtedly served to divert the attention and distract the efforts of the Indians, and to aid Sullivan in his campaign. Brodhead could, it is probable, have easily united his forces or a larger body of men to those of General Sullivan, by pursuing the Indian trail along the Allegheny to Olean, and thence to Canadea and along the Genesee, to join with him in a movement upon Fort Niagara. Indeed, Brodhead wrote to General Sullivan, October 10, 1779, that he should have marched to Genesee, if he had not been disappointed in getting a sufficient number of shoes for his men.

Having completed the work of destruction at the upper Indian towns, the Americans began their return. On their way they consigned to the flames Conawago and Buckaloons. The route chosen for their return march was the Venango road. According to a private letter they crossed Oil Creek several times. Their attention was there

attracted to the inflammable oil issuing from the bottom and sides of its channels, and from the adjacent springs, which they thought resembled British oil. The Massachusetts Magazine, published in the succeeding year, 1780, referring to this expedition, states that, in the northern part of Pennsylvania, "there is a Creek called Oil Creek which empties into the Allegheny River. It issues from a spring, on the top of which floats an oil similar to that called Barbadoes tar, and from which one may gather several gallons a day. The troops sent to guard the Western posts halted at this spring, collected some of this oil, and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief from the rheumatism with which they were afflicted. The water, of which the troops drank freely, operated as a gentle purge." *

Leaving Oil Creek, they arrived at French Creek, formerly known as *Riviere Aux Boeufs*. The French first built a fort below its mouth, which they named *Machault*, after the French Minister of Marine. There Washington, when on his journey to *Le Boeuf*, in December, 1753, had an interview with the celebrated Captain Jancaire. The English afterward built a fort a little higher up, which was called Fort Venango. About eight years after Brodhead's expedition a fort was built by the United States upon the south bank of the creek, about one-half mile from its mouth, which was called Franklin, and from which the present town derives its name. Leaving Venango, Brodhead ascended French Creek. The Indian path extended up its eastern side to the site of Meadville, where it crossed the stream. General Washington had followed it twenty-six years before, when on his journey to *Le Boeuf*. About twenty miles from Venango, as estimated by Brodhead, he came to the Indian village of Maghinquechahocking, which was composed of thirty-five large houses. This town he burned. The distance from Venango indicated by Brodhead, would fix its site not far from the mouth of Coneant Creek, the outlet of Coneant Lake, and about seven miles below Meadville, upon the rich and level lands at the confluence of the two streams; owing to the difficulty of accurately determining distances in the wilderness, Brodhead's estimate may not perhaps be reliable. Of these fertile flats, and of those about Meadville, a portion was undoubtedly devoted by the Indians to the raising of corn; but substantial evidences of the precise location of this village have long since disappeared. Yet when the canal, at the point where it leaves the aqueduct over French Creek, near Meadville, was being constructed, there was found an Indian burial ground, and various Indian implements, among which very much corroded cooking utensils of brass. In

the graves, besides human bones, were also found corroded copper ornaments, and it may be, that at or near where these relics were found, this ill-starred Indian village stood. With the destruction of Maghinquechahocking, the objects of this expedition were accomplished, and Brodhead resumed his return march through the wilderness. It is related, that on this march, a young man named John Ward, was badly injured in Butler County, by a horse falling upon a rock in a creek; hence the name, Slippery Rock, in that county. This was probably the most serious injury received by any one of the force during the expedition. Colonel Brodhead arrived at Fort Pitt on the 14th of September.

The campaign thus terminated was successful throughout. It was prosecuted with promptness and dispatch; and completely and thoroughly accomplished all of its objects, without the slightest mishap. In thirty-three days over three hundred miles were traversed, many Indian towns destroyed, and fields devastated, without the loss of a single man or beast; one hundred and sixty-five cabins were destroyed, one hundred and thirty of which were deserted upon the approach of the troops; the most of them were sufficiently large to accommodate three or four Indian families. The extensive mountain region, and the tangled forests which had to be traversed in order to reach the villages of the hostile Indians, had been regarded by them as impenetrable, and as a sufficient barrier for their protection.'

The enterprise and resolution of Colonel Brodhead, and the enthusiasm, perseverance and endurance of his officers and men, enabled him to overcome all obstacles. Considering the small force engaged in this expedition, and its considerable results, it was more beneficial than the costly expedition that proceeded from the east under Sullivan. The conduct of all engaged in Colonel Brodhead's campaign was evidently regarded as most creditable. The thanks of Congress was voted to him for executing the expedition; and by General Washington, as appears by the following extract from General Orders, issued from his headquarters at More's House, October 18, 1779, to his army at West Point: "The activity, perseverance, and firmness, which marked the conduct of Colonel Brodhead, and that of all the officers and men of every description in this expedition, do them great honor, and their services entitle them to the thanks, and to this testimonial of the General's Acknowledgement."

Brodhead believed that the destruction of the towns and fields of the Indians would fill them with consternation, and promote the safety

of the frontier. It had that immediate effect, to some extent, for on his return to Pittsburg, he found distant tribes ready to form friendly treaties with him. The chiefs of the Delawares were there. The principal chiefs of the Hurons and Wyandots were also there ; and soon after came the King of the Maquichee branch of the Shawneese. They had been less hostile towards the United States than the remainder of that nation. On the 17th of September, a council was held with them. Doonyoutat, the Wyandot Chief, delivered a formal speech, presenting many belts of wampum, according to the Indian style. He professed friendship towards the United States, and promised to deliver up the prisoners that were in the hands of his nation ; and he promised that his people would assist the English no more. The Delawares (with the exception of the Munceys) were at peace with the United States, and several of their warriors had accompanied Colonel Brodhead in his recent expedition. They on this occasion pleaded the cause of the Maquichee clan of the Shawneese, whom they called their grandchildren. Kelleleman, Killbuck, and another Delaware chief, were the speakers. The speeches of these orators have been preserved, and are fair specimens of Indian oratory. Colonel Brodhead replied to their addresses according to the Indian form, but expressed himself with great independence. He plainly told them that fair promises would not do ; that they must give a practical exhibition of their friendship ; that they must deliver up their prisoners ; kill, scalp, and take as many English, or their Indian allies, as they had before Americans ; and on all occasions join the latter against their enemies. Peace was made on this basis. Hostages were, however, required from the Wyandots, to insure the faithful performance of its terms.

The consequences which followed these expeditions were most disastrous to the Six Nations. They were superior to all the other Indian nations. None but they had what might be called a government. The people of this confederacy was advanced in civilization far beyond what had been generally understood. They lived by the cultivation of the soil, as well as the chase. They resided in permanent villages composed of comfortable houses, some of which were painted and even well furnished. At Kanandaigua, General Sullivan "found twenty-three elegant houses, mostly framed, and in general large." "The town of Genesee contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and very elegant. It was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat, extending a number of miles ; over which extensive fields of corn were waving, together with every kind of vegetable that

could be conceived." Besides gardens and cultivated fields they had extensive orchards of apples, pears, and even peaches. One destroyed by Sullivan contained one thousand five hundred trees. As this people had learned to enjoy the comforts and conveniences of civilization, the calamity which had now befallen them seemed the greater. The winter of 1779 and 1780, was remarkably long and bitter. The cold was the most intense ever known in this country. Washington's army suffered at Morristown as severely as it suffered at Valley Forge two winters previously. New York harbor was frozen so firmly that the heaviest cannon were wheeled over from Staten Island on the ice. In western New York the snow fell to a depth of five feet. The game, upon which the Indians partly subsisted, perished in great numbers, and when the snow, in the spring, disappeared, multitudes of deer and other animals were found dead in the woods. Even in the latitude of Pittsburg the winter was very severe. Colonel Brodhead, in a letter from Pittsburg, dated February 11th, 1780, wrote to General Washington: "Such a deep snow, and such ice has not been known at this place in the memory of the eldest natives; deer and turkies die by hundreds for want of food. The snow on the Allegheny and Laurel Hills is four feet deep."

Their villages and the products of their fields having been destroyed as the harvests were ripening, and the previous year's crops exhausted, the Indians were without shelter and food. Great numbers of them perished during the winter from starvation and cold. These calamities fell heaviest upon the women and children. To escape general destruction the Indians fled to Fort Niagara for shelter and relief. There, to add to their desolation, a fatal disease, induced by the unusual exposure they had suffered, swept them off in great numbers. The Delaware chief Killbuck wrote to Colonel Brodhead from Salem on the Muskingham, June 7th, 1780, that, "some days ago one man and an old woman came from Niagara who acquaint me that last winter three hundred Indians died at that place of the flux."

As the Indians had freely shed their blood during the war, and now had suffered almost annihilation for their faithful adherence to the cause of the King, the British authorities could not without gross ingratitude omit to provide for their relief. Large numbers had gathered around the Fort and along the River Niagara, and during the winter fed from the British stores. To relieve themselves of this burden, the British Government encouraged the Indians to establish themselves at convenient places, and obtain support by cultivating land. In May or June,

1780, they first permanently established themselves upon Buffalo Creek, near Buffalo, and in 1780 and 1781 a portion made the first settlement upon the Tonawanda and Cattaraugus Creeks, while others settled along the Genesee and Allegheny Rivers.

The British officers also incited the Indian warriors, who, exasperated and smarting under the chastisement administered by Sullivan and Brodhead, were assembled at Niagara in great numbers, to make warlike excursions along the borders. Seldom less than five hundred warriors were on service at one time. Guy Johnson wrote to Lord Germain from Niagara, July 26th, 1780, that "the Oneidas have joined the British, and that the remainder of the Indians with the Rebels will soon join the British, and thereby lay open the Rebel frontier near the Mohawk River." "The number of killed and prisoners (Americans) amounted early in June to one hundred and fifty-six, and is now enlarged." "The number of men of the Six Nations (exclusive of their people southward) is about one thousand six hundred; above one thousand two hundred are warriors, and of the latter eight hundred and thirty-five are now on the service on the frontier." Accompanied by British officers, these warriors committed cruelties along the frontier until the close of the war. They destroyed the towns of the friendly Oneidas. They invaded and overrun the valley of the Mohawk, and made frequent descents upon the settlements along the borders of New York and Pennsylvania.

The English Government, in the Treaty of Peace that closed the Revolution, required no stipulation in favor of the Indians, to the great indignation and disappointment of these allies. Yet a portion of them, including Brandt and Red Jacket, subservient to British interests, favored confederating with the North Western Indians in the war against the United States that afterwards followed. Cornplanter, and other influential chiefs, saw, however, the folly of contending against the growing States, and gave wiser counsels in favor of peace. In a treaty held at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1784, peace was made with the United States. About this time the British Government granted to the Mohawks a tract of beautiful land along the Ouse or Grand River, in Upper Canada. The other nations of the Confederacy afterwards resided upon lands set apart for them in the State of New York, portions of which, at different times, they subsequently ceded to that State, until there only remained to them the present diminished reservation. Allegheny, the name of the river upon which their remaining lands mostly lie, has the same signification in the Delaware tongue that Ohio has

in the Seneca, and means Fair or Beautiful Water. The Allegheny is indeed a beautiful river; its waters, supplied by mountain streams, are remarkably pure and limpid. They flow uninterrupted by falls over a bed of polished pebbles, free from rocks, in winding course, through scenery of most varied character; at times rough and rugged, but more often picturesque and beautiful. Above Warren the bordering hills along its course rise in wild confusion, and are covered with dense forests. The dark green of the pines and hemlocks contrasts strikingly with the light verdure of the maples. The smooth flowing current of the river now glides along the shadow of a lofty headland, now washes the pebbles of some gently sloping shore, and wild flowers bloom everywhere along the banks. In this romantic region the Indian towns are situated for thirty miles along the river. Commencing just above the northern boundary of Pennsylvania lies their principal reservation. The Seneca-Abeel, the clan who were under the immediate control of the able and just Cornplanter, settled in Pennsylvania a little south of its northern boundary, in the very region invaded by Colonel Brodhead. Cornplanter made his residence, at the close of his life, four miles below the State line, and five miles above Kinjua, near the center of a Seneca village, built upon the site of the upper Indian towns destroyed by Brodhead, which he called Jennesedaga, meaning Burnt Houses. Another tract of land, consisting of about five hundred acres, which includes the celebrated Oil Springs at the mouth of Oil Creek, was granted to Cornplanter by the State of Pennsylvania about 1792.

With the Independence of the States the prestige of the Six Nations departed. Their government was as perfect a Federal Republic as human ingenuity could devise. The independence of each State was absolute, and yet they were bound together as a Confederacy by the strongest of bonds. Each of these States, or little nations, was divided into tribes; a near family relationship was supposed to exist between the people of a tribe of one nation and those of the corresponding tribe of others having the same name; and thus the strong tie by which consanguinity links man together, was adroitly used to bind these nations into one. No maxim of enlightened statecraft was ever more skillfully used to attach a people to their country than was this device by them. But the obliteration of political and territorial lines, the mingling and scattering of tribes, extinguished the life of the Confederacy. The breaking up of their ancient seats along the romantic waters of central New York, broke also the haughty spirit of this nation. May we not regret the necessity

that compelled the overthrow of a people so vigorous, barbarians though they were? King Hendricks, Brandt, Schenandoah, Logan, Farmer's Brother, Cornplanter and Red Jacket were nearly cotemporaneous personages. What civilized community can point to such a measure of intellectual force and physical energy as these forest statesmen present, even with all their savage obliquities and barbarous instincts?

OBED EDSON

¹ DANIEL BRODHEAD was born at Marbletown, Ulster County, New York, in 1736. His great-grandfather, Daniel Brodhead, was a royalist, and Captain of Grenadiers in the reign of Charles II. He came with the expedition under Colonel Nichols in 1664, that captured the Netherlands (now New York) from the Dutch, and settled in Marbletown in 1665. His grandfather, Richard Brodhead, and his father, Daniel Brodhead, both resided in Marbletown. The latter, in 1736, removed to a place called Dansville, on Brodhead's Creek, near Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. His sons became famous for their courage in conflicts with the Indians on the border. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Daniel Brodhead was elected a Lieutenant-Colonel, and subsequently became Colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which was first mustered for pay at King's Bridge, September 5th, 1776. He participated in the battle of Long Island, and in other battles in which Washington's army was engaged. He was next given in command on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. March 5th, 1778, Washington appointed him to the command of the Western Department, which extended over the whole west from Detroit to Louisiana. While in command there, several important expeditions were planned and executed against the Indians. He held the office of Surveyor-General from November 3d, 1779, until April 23d, 1780. He was twice married; first to Elizabeth Depui, and subsequently to Mrs. Mifflin, widow of Governor Mifflin. He died at Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania, November 15th, 1809, aged seventy-three years. His descendants and kinsmen are numerous, and among them are many who have filled honorable positions in civil life and in the army. Among them was John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian. Feeling a just pride in the good name of their gallant relative, they, in 1872, erected at Milford an appropriate monument to his memory. (See Turner's History of the Holland Purchasers, page 661.)

² Colonel John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pa., in 1740. He entered the army at eighteen, after having obtained a good classical education. He served in the campaign against Fort Du Quesne, under General Forbes. He was subsequently captured by the Indians, and remained with them several years, becoming familiar with their language and customs. To him Logan addressed his celebrated speech. It is said that when murderously assaulted by Little Eagle, a chief of the Delawares, with one blow of his sword Colonel Gibson severed his head from his body, and became afterwards known as the Long Knife warrior. Gibson was in active service during the Revolution, in the east and west. He was second in command in Brodhead's expedition, and commanded at Pittsburg after Brodhead. He had at one time an unfortunate controversy with that officer. After the war he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County in that State, and Secretary of the Territory of Indiana. He died at Braddock's Field in 1822. He was a brave soldier and an honest man.

³ Captain Samuel Brady was born at Shippensburg, Pa., in 1758. He was at the siege of Boston, and a Lieutenant at the massacre of Paoli. He lost both his father and brother by the hands of the Indians; and took an oath of vengeance against the race. Having been ordered to Pittsburg with the rest of his regiment under Colonel Brodhead, he had an opportunity to fulfill his vow. He was generally placed in command of the scouting parties sent into the Indian coun-

try from Fort Pitt; and being an athletic, active, and courageous man, familiar with the woods and with Indian warfare, became the hero of many bold exploits in the northeastern part of the valley of the Ohio, and a serious trouble to his Indian foes. An account of his daring adventures and hair-breadth escapes would fill a volume, and has given his name permanently to many localities in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

⁴ Jonathan Zane was born in Berkley County, Va. He was an experienced hunter; a man of activity and resolution. He was familiar with the western wilderness, and acted as a pilot and scout in many expeditions against the Indians. He and John Sloven were appointed guides in Colonel Crawford's disastrous expedition. He was one of the best marksmen on the border. His skill with the rifle he displayed against the Indians with fatal effect in several instances.

⁵ Several days afterwards, Major Morrison, who subsequently became a distinguished citizen of Lexington, Ky., returned to this place to reconnoitre; as he stooped to drink at the mouth of the creek, a rifle ball splashed the water in his face. The fact was long afterwards confirmed to Dr. William A. Irvine, by one of Complanter's men.

⁶ The first notice we have of the oil springs, is contained in a letter written by the Franciscan Missionary, *Joseph de la Roche d'Allion*, in 1629; He gives the Indian name of the place, which he explains to mean, "There is plenty here." In view of the vast wealth extracted from the earth in this region during the later years, the name would seem to have been prophetic. His letter was printed in Sagard's "*Histoire du Canada*," Peter Kalm, in his "Travels in North America," published in 1772, refers to the oil springs; and on a map in his book their exact location is given.

⁷ Besides the principal towns, small settlements, saved from destruction by their insignificance, were also abandoned. At Bemus Point, a beautiful cape extending into Chautauqua Lake, the earliest white settlers found remains of habitations, and traces of cultivation; cleared fields where wild plum trees were growing; ancient corn-hills, and even potatoes of the lady finger variety that had been naturally propagated from year to year. At other points upon that lake, and along the Conawango, and in Western New York, that had been possessed by the Six Nations, were seen melancholy traces of the ruin which had befallen them.

APPENDIX

I

COLONEL BRODHEAD'S REPORT OF HIS EXPEDITION

From the Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser,
Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 19, 1779

Pittsburgh, September 23, 1779.

Sir,

I am honored with your favour of the 30th of last month.

I take the liberty to inclose you the copy of a letter herewith sent to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, containing an account of the expedition I lately made against the Seneca and Muncy nations, and wish the relation may give you pleasure.

I likewise send a return of the officers of the 8th P. Reg. with their respective claims to promotion, and beg you to be pleased to send their

commissions accordingly, and the arrangement of the Pennsylvania line.

I also inclose the Talks of the Delawares, Wyondats, and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawnese, and I flatter myself that there is a great share of sincerity in their present professions.

Since my last this frontier has enjoyed perfect tranquility, but the new settlement at Kentucke has suffered greatly.

I have the honor to be, with the highest regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD,

Col. Commanding W. D.

Hon. Timothy Pickering,

President of the Board of War.

Pittsburgh, Sept. 16, 1779.

Sir

I returned from the expedition against the Senecas and Muncy nations the 14th inst., and now do myself the honor to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month with 605, rank and file, including the militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions (our all), which, except the live cattle, was transported by water, under the escort of 100 men, to a place called Mahoning, about fifteen miles above Fort Armstrong, where, after four days detention by excessive rains and the straying of some of the cattle, the stores were loaded on pack horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Conowago on the path leading to Cushcushing. At ten miles this side the town, one of the advance guards, consisting of 15 white men (including the spies) and 8 Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Harding, of the eighth Pennsylvania regiment (whom I have before recommended to your Excellency for his great bravery and skill as a partizan), discovered between 30 or 40 warriors coming down the Alleghany river in seven canoes.

These warriors having likewise discovered some of the troops, immediately landed, stripped of their shirts and prepared for action, and the advanced guard immediately began the attack. All the troops, except one column and flankers being in the narrows between the river and an high hill, were immediately prepared to receive the enemy. Which being done, I went forward to discover the enemy, and saw six of them retreating over the river without arms; at the same time the rest ran away, leaving their canoes, blankets, shirts, provision and eight guns, besides five dead, and, by the signs of blood, several went off wounded; only two of our men and one of the Delaware Indians (Nanowland) were wounded, and so slightly that they are already recovered and fit for action.

The next morning the troops proceeded to Buckloons, where I ordered a small breastwork to be thrown up of felled timber and fascines. A Captain and 40 men were left to secure our baggage and stores, and the troops marched immediately to Conowago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past.

Here the troops seemed much mortified, because we had no person to serve as a guide to the upper towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the enemy some time past, and we continued marching on it about twenty miles before any discoveries were made, except a few tracks of their spies, but immediately after ascending a high hill we discovered the Alleghany river and a number of corn-fields, and descending, several towns which the enemy had deserted on the approach of the troops; some of them fled just before the advance guard reached the town, and left several packs of deer skins.

At the upper Seneca town we found a painted image or war-post, clothed in dog-skin, and John Montour informed me this town was called Yoghroonwago. Besides this, we found several other towns, consisting on the whole of 130 houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The troops remained on the ground three whole days, destroying the towns and corn-fields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much thicker than is common with our farmers.

The quantity of corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed 500 acres, which is the lowest estimate, and the plunder taken is estimated at 3000 dollars. I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the troops, and hope it will meet your approbation. On my return I preferred the Venango road. The old towns of Conowago, Buckloons and Maghinquechahocking, about 20 miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of 35 large houses, were likewise burnt.

The greatest part of the Indian houses were greater than common, and were built of square and round logs and frame work. From the great quantity of corn in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the whole of the Seneca and Muncy nations intended to collect to this settlement, which extends about 8 miles on the Alleghany river between 170 and 200 miles from hence; the river at the upper town is little if any larger

than Kiskamanetes creek. It is remarkable that neither man nor beast has fallen into the enemy's hands on this expedition. I have a happy presage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford and Northumberland, if not the whole western frontiers, will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every corps during the whole expedition; their perseverance and zeal during the whole march (through a country too inaccessible to be described) can scarcely be equalled in history.

On my return I found here the Chiefs of the Delawares, the principal Chief of the Hurons, and now King of the Maquichees tribe of Shawanese is likewise come to treat with me.

The Wyandots and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawanese promise very fair, and I have promised them peace provided they take as many prisoners and scalps from the enemy as they have done from us, and on every occasion

join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The bearer, Capt. McIntire, has some private as well as public business to transact at Philadelphia. I have therefore directed him to proceed to Head Quarters, and he will have the honor to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And humble servant,

DANIEL BROADHEAD.

P. S. The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to build some block houses at Coochoking for the protection of their women and children whilst they are out against the English and Mingoes, and I have agreed to send a detachment for that purpose, agreeable to the articles of Confederation.

His Excellency General Washington.

Published by order of Congress.

Charles Thomas, Secretary.

II

LIST OF JOURNALS, NARRATIVES, ETC., OF THE WESTERN EXPEDITION—1779

Communicated by the Rev. David Craft, of Wyalusing, Bradford County, Penn.

The following journals are those of officers who took part in the campaign. No period of the Revolutionary War was so fully described by contemporaneous writers:

- I.—Anonymous. Stops with September 12. Printed in Hill's New Hampshire Patriot, at Portsmouth, September 16, 1843.
- II.—Barton, William, Lieutenant in the Jersey Brigade. Covers the whole expedition. Published in the Transactions of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. II.
- III.—Beatty, Erkuries, Major in Clinton's Brigade. Covers the whole campaign. Original manuscript in the possession of New York Historical Society.
- IV.—Blake, Thomas, Lieutenant First New Hampshire Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Published in Ridder's History of the First New Hampshire Regiment.
- V.—Campfield, Jabez, Surgeon in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Published in the Wyoming County (Pa.) Democrat, December, 1873 and January, 1874.

- VI.—Dearborn, Henry, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding Third New Hampshire Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Original manuscript in possession of John S. Fogg of Boston, Mass.
- VII.—Elmer, Ebenezer, Surgeon in Maxwell's (Jersey) Brigade. Extends to August 13. Extracts from this journal were printed in the same volume with Barton's (No. 8). The entire original manuscript in the hands of Lyman C. Draper.
- VIII.—Fellows, Moses, Sergeant in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Copy of original manuscript in the hands of A. Tiffany Norton of Lima, N. Y.
- IX.—Gookin, Daniel, ——— New Hampshire Regiment. Ends September 5. Published in the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1862.
- X.—Grant, George, Sergeant-Major of the Third New Jersey Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. It was published in the Wyoming Republican, a weekly newspaper, by D. Lewis, at Kingston, Pa., dated July 16, 1834.
- XI.—Grant, Thomas, ends abruptly September 25. Published in the Historical Magazine for August and September, 1862.
- XII.—Hardenburg, John L., Lieutenant in Second New York Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Original manuscript in the hands of Cayuga County (N. Y.) Historical Society.
- XIII.—Hubley, Adam, Colonel Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. Covers the period of the expedition. Printed in the Appendix to Miner's History of Wyoming.
- XIV.—Jenkins, John, a Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) and guide in the expedition. Covers the whole period of the campaign. The original is in the hands of his grandson, Hon. Steuben Jenkins of Wyoming, Pa.
- XV.—Livermore, Daniel, Captain in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. Published in the New Hampshire Historical Collections, Vol. VI., pp. 308-335. Covers the campaign.
- XVI.—Machin, Thomas, Captain in Col. John Lamb's Regiment, (N. Y.) Artillery. Journal of a March from Fort Schuyler. Expedition against the Onondagas. April 17 to April 24, 1779. In the possession of John Austin Stevens. Published in the Magazine of American History (III., 688), November, 1879 (*present number*).
- XVII.—Newkirk, Charles, Captain in Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. Covers the whole of the expedition. The original manuscript in the hands of Lyman C. Draper, Esq., of Madison, Wisconsin. This journal has passed for that of Captain Theodosius Fowler, and is quoted as such by Stone in the Life of Brant, by Campbell in Border Wars, and by O'Reilly in the History of Rochester. Further investigation shows it to have been that of Newkirk.

- XVIII.—Norris, James, Major in the Third New Hampshire Regiment. Covers the whole expedition. Original manuscript in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, N. Y. Published in Vol. I, No. 7, of this publication (by Bigelow Brothers), July, 1879.
- XIX.—Rogers, William, D.D., Chaplain in Hand's Brigade. Extends to August 29. Published with notes, etc., in the Rhode Island Historical Travels, No. 7, by Sidney S. Rider of Providence, R. I., 1879.
- XX.—Rogers, William, Quartermaster-Sergeant in Malcolm's N. Y. Regiment. Gives only dates, places and distances. The original manuscript is in the hands of his relative, B. L. Rogers, Newark, N. J.
- XXI.—Shute, Samuel, Lieutenant in Second New Jersey Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Copy of original manuscript in the hands of Mr. Ballard, a relative, in Elmira.
- XXII.—Van Hovenberg, Rudolph, Lieutenant Second New York Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. The original manuscript in New York City.
- XXIII.—Webb, Nathaniel. A fragment published in the Elmira (N. Y.) Daily Republican, September 11, 1855. He was an officer in Van Cortlandt's Regiment.

Berides this, the following were once in existence, but I have not been able to obtain any part of them :

- XXIV.—Hoops, Adam, Third Aid-de-Camp to General Sullivan. A copy of the Journal of William Pierce.
- XXV.—Newman, ———. Referred to by Mr. Miner, but supposed to have been burned when the office of the Record of the Times was burned, at Wilkesbarre, Pa., April 9, 1869.
- XXVI.—Pierce, William, First Aid-de-Camp to General Sullivan.

The following narratives were written by those who themselves were participants in what they relate. Although of less historic value than the journals, they nevertheless shed light on several obscure points :

- I.—Davis, Nathan. Published in Historical Magazine, April, 1868.
- II.—Gano, Rev. John, Chaplain to Clinton's Brigade. Published in the Historical Magazine, November, 1861.
- III.—Salmon, John. Printed in the first edition of Seaver's Life of Mary Jemison.
- IV.—Van Campen, Moses. Published in Memoir to Congress for a pension.
- V.—Van Cortlandt, Colonel Philip, commandant of Second New York Regiment. Published in the Elmira Daily Advertiser, February 17, 1879.

ARNOLD AT THE COURT OF GEORGE III

On the 19th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, with his entire army of near 10,000 men, surrendered to General Washington. When intelligence of this event reached the British Cabinet, the firmness of Lord North, the Minister, gave way, and he exclaimed, "All is lost!" This success caused most men to conclude that the subjugation of the colonies was impossible, and led to the acknowledgement of the independence of our country.

In the December following, Arnold, with his family, sailed for England. In the expeditions which he commanded against Virginia and into Connecticut, he had accomplished all that was expected of him, had displayed energy and executive ability, had received the thanks of Sir Henry Clinton, but no opportunity had occurred for the exhibition of those brilliant exploits and feats of personal heroism, for which his career in the patriot army had been so distinguished. Independently of the reproach brought upon him by the affair at New London, he had not added anything to his military reputation. Indeed, he was so heavily handicapped while in the service of the King, as to make it very difficult for him to achieve anything great. It is not unlikely some distrust may have been felt towards him in some quarters among his new friends, though I discover no indication of it in the treatment of him by the British commander. Even if there had been no blot upon his record as an officer, as a colonist he would have labored under great disadvantage.

Besides, it was well known at the British Headquarters that he was constantly exposed to dangers far greater and of a different character from those of any other officer. Hundreds of riflemen and sharpshooters were on the watch to take his life. Heavy rewards for his capture, for his abduction had been offered, and if taken his execution would have been summary. He was therefore sent to England to confer with the Ministers upon the conduct of the war; and he prepared to leave with little or no probability of ever returning. He was now to become an exile from his native land, probably forever.

How painful this exile, with what shattered hopes, nay, almost despair, he left his home, the land of his glory, and of his disgrace, it is difficult to conceive. One must remember his ambition, his passionate

nature; how he had struggled for fame; how, when ill-treated, and deeply injured, carried away by his passions, he had listened to British emissaries, and yielding to their specious arguments and persuasions, had at last staked every thing on the success of his treason, to appreciate the bitter feelings of self-reproach with which he sailed away from his home. It has been said, that the hardships he had endured and his exposure and wounds in battle, were the result, not of patriotism, but of ambition only; but "Greater love hath no man than this: that a man lay down his life for his friend;" and it would be difficult to find stronger evidence of love of country than he had exhibited up to the time of his treason.

Yet few, if any, among those he left behind would now remember,

" That this poor victim of self-will
Patriot no more, had once been patriot all."

It was impossible for him not to recall the day when, brought home from Saratoga, still weak and a cripple from unhealed wounds so honorably received, his native State went out to meet, welcome and honor him. He could not fail to remember when, returning to Philadelphia after having, by a heroism never surpassed, driven Tryon back to his ships, Congress replaced the horse riddled with bullets under him, with another completely caparisoned, and gave him the promotion so long and so unjustly withheld. Nor did he fail to recall how often he had been honored by Washington, and that the Commander-in-Chief had offered him the second place in his own army, and had he been true to that chief, it might have been into his hands that the sword of Lord Cornwallis would have been surrendered. Musing upon all these recollections and all his old campaigns, from Ticonderoga and the Wilderness of Maine to the assault upon Quebec and the long Canadian winter, when "in the path of duty" he "knew no fear," he paced the deck of the packet and saw his native land disappear forever in the distance. He might now be compared to a melancholy *flotsom*, thrown up by the waves of a stormy sea, the wreck of a once noble career, now the wretched relic of an abortive and guilty enterprise.

He had staked all—and lost all. Execrated and cursed by his own countrymen and their army, and regarded coldly by the other side, he must have felt uncertain of his reception by the government to which he was fleeing. He could not fail to speculate on what might have been his position, as the brilliant second of Washington, in establishing the independence of his country. He was now going empty-handed of

success, to meet strangers, without a country or a home. Truly, his treason was not only a crime, but a sad and terrible blunder. No wonder that he struggled against despair!

But his devoted wife, in this hour of deep depression, was ever at his side to soothe and sustain him. To her Arnold was still a hero. It was hard for her to leave father, family, home and friends, but with all of woman's devotion, she clung to her husband, and made his life endurable.

Sir Henry Clinton gave to Arnold letters to Lord George Germain and others, bearing generous testimony "to his spirited and meritorious conduct since he had joined the British army," and "earnestly commending him to his Lordship's countenance and protection."

Lord Cornwallis was a fellow passenger with Arnold and his family across the ocean to England. His lordship, after his surrender at Yorktown, had been exchanged for Henry Laurens, late President of Congress, who had been captured at sea, and confined in the Tower of London. The kindness of Cornwallis towards the family of Arnold, manifested on various occasions, and especially some years afterwards, in aiding to place his sons at the military school, may be attributed, in part at least, to the friendly relations created by this voyage together. In the protracted passage across the Atlantic, then made by sail, these two gentlemen had abundant time to discuss the probabilities of future success of the war. Cornwallis had nearly given up all hope, while Arnold professed to be still sanguine.

"Arnold," it is said in a private letter from a gentleman who was in Europe when he arrived there, and whose acquaintance in diplomatic circles placed him in a position to be well informed, "was received with open arms by the King, caressed by the ministers, and all imaginable attention shown him by all people on that side of the question."

Leaning on the arm of Sir Guy Carleton, he was presented at Court by Sir Walter Stirling.

He was much consulted by Lord Germain and the Cabinet, and regarded as a very sensible man, familiar with American affairs. "He had many private conferences with the King, and was seen walking with the Prince of Wales and the King's Brother in the public gardens."

It must have been a suggestive spectacle to have seen General Arnold in the parks of London, leaning on the arm of the Prince of Wales, seeking his aid under a lameness arising from wounds received in fighting against the Crown.

From the letter above quoted and other sources, I learn that the King, who had a passionate desire to retain the colonies, regarded him as a man whose opinions were entitled to great consideration. All of Arnold's future after his treason, for obvious reasons, depended upon a reconciliation between the colonies and the Crown, and he was as reluctant as King George himself to see their independence established; hence, notwithstanding the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, his hopeful temperament at times still cherished the belief that a re-union was possible. Not long after his presentation at Court, at the personal request of the King, he prepared a paper, dated 1782, entitled, "Thoughts on the American War."

It contains a carefully considered plan for a reconciliation and re-union between the Crown and the Colonies. The grandson of General Arnold has placed the original draft of the paper, which is in the handwriting of General Arnold, in my hands. So far as I know it has never been printed. It is a curious and interesting document, and seems to me to exhibit some political sagacity. Arnold had already in his address to his countrymen declared that he had devoted his life to the "re-union of the British Empire, as the best and only means to dry up the streams of misery that have deluged the country."

He had expressed the conviction that it was the intention of Great Britain to leave the rights and privileges of the Colonies unimpaired, including "their perpetual exemption from taxation."

On his arrival in London Arnold learned that while the King had no thought of yielding, the British people were getting tired of the war, and hopeless of success.

In the paper referred to he enters into an elaborate argument to show that a majority of the Americans were opposed to a separation; he earnestly recommends a change in the conduct of the war, commenting cautiously on the delicate subject of "the inactivity and misdirection of the King's arms in the past."

He calls attention to the great mistake, as he regarded it, that no attempt had been made to set up "the civil authority in any part of America," and asserts that until this was done "the loyalists will not, nor indeed can they, give any special assistance to the royal cause."

The reason for this he explains at some length, saying:

"I have said they *will not*, Because they are *Englishmen*. Nay, an American Husbandman will no sooner quit his farm and Family, to become a common Soldier at six Pence a day Wages, with rations, than an English Gentleman of £500 a year in the Funds. He will not lend his hand to erect a military Misrule

over himself and his Friends, and put all his Property at the Discretion of an Arbitrary Police, that has cut the Throat of the King's Interest wherever it has been set up.

He has, however, no objection to serve in the Militia *within* his own Colony, under officers who are *of it*, and to assist in supporting its Government and defending himself *in it*, and may perhaps pursue the Rebel out of it, or meet him on a menaced Invasion near the Borders.

But for this Purpose the Civil Authority of the Crown must first be set up; and without it Great Britain (the American being what he is) can neither be benefitted by his Councils, his Purse, nor his arms. He will be passive while under the Power of the Usurpers, and when they are flying before the King's Troops, continue if he can at home, giving aid to neither Party, and certainly not oppose the royal army, if he finds it possible to avoid it; and, in short, behave in the manner Lord Cornwallis experienced, distrusting both the strength of his Army to give protection, and what is worse, to afford the Protection of the *Laws of the Land*."

After speaking of the feeble and exhausted condition of the Colonies, the great depreciation of their paper currency, and the small number of Continental soldiers in the field, he alludes to the discontented condition of Vermont, and suggests measures for detaching her from the Union; and he concludes this topic by saying:

"By the complete Detachment of Vermont from the Rebel Interest, and the Reduction of the Highland Forts *early in the spring*, much may be expected in the next Campaign, especially since the New Yorkers in general, and a very great proportion of the Country between them and Connecticut River are known to be very favourably inclined to the Re-union."

He then recommended "a new peace commission to the Colonies," saying, "a new peace Commission is indispensably necessary."

"Perplexed as the Congress must be under the growing uneasiness of the People, neither affection to the French, nor a republican Attachment, nor even the Aims of Ambition would prevent them from listening to Overtures *that were decisive and irreversible*, if themselves could be secured from the vindictive rage of the Multitude they have misled, oppressed and ruined, as well as from the resentment of the Crown. * * * * *

It can scarcely be necessary to add, that the new Peace Commissioners should have every Power of the Crown for the appointment to offices, from Governors downwards, that when they return to England they may have the Government established upon such a Plan, as all things considered, may appear to be expedient, nor that the success of the Commission will depend much upon their being persons of Rank, *and rather Statesmen than Soldiers*, and of Characters

in such estimation for the Fullness of their powers as to influence the Executive Instruments, both of the army and navy, to a *faithful, spirited*, and harmonious Conduct."

"All these things," says he, "are suggested on the supposition that Great Britain has such an interest in her Colonies as is worth fostering for the common good."

He expresses the conviction that "the war was now nearly at an end," unless Britain despairs of success.

Had the policy towards the Colonies, both civil and military, pointed out in this paper been pursued by the British Government early in the war, independence would have been a far more difficult achievement.

It is apparent that Arnold hoped to have been appointed one of the New Peace Commissioners in the plan of settlement proposed by him, and it is probable that he anticipated that by contributing towards peace, and securing for the Colonies substantial self-government, he might mitigate to some extent the hatred felt towards him in America. Although the paper was read with great satisfaction by the King, and added to Arnold's influence at Court, it came too late; the British nation was tired of the war, the paper led to no action, and it soon became very clear that American independence was a fact accomplished, and nothing was left to England but to accept the inevitable.

The fascination which Mrs. Arnold, by her beauty, her goodness and her grace, exercised over all, was not less marked in England than in America. Tarleton and other officers, who met her in Philadelphia and New York, were enthusiastic in their expressions of admiration, and, as has been stated, declared her the most "beautiful woman in England." However this may have been, the letter before quoted says, "the queen was so interested in favor of Mrs. Arnold as to desire the ladies of the court to pay much attention to her."

At the same time Arnold was most severely assailed by the Whig newspapers, and received many mortifying indignities from persons in the opposition. He received for his alleged losses, in consequence of his joining the British, the sum of £6,315, £5,000 of which he invested in four per cent. consols, realizing therefrom £7,000 in stocks.

Mrs. Arnold, some time after her arrival in England, received a pension of £500 per annum, and each of her children £100 per annum, from the British Government.¹

In Rhode Island upon an old gravestone, erected to the memory of Oliver Arnold, who died in 1770, are carved the arms of the family.² The crest was a demi-tiger, etc., and the motto, "*Gloria mihi cessum.*"

These arms, or something very similar, had been sometimes used on his seal by Benedict Arnold in America.

It is a significant fact that after his arrival in England General Arnold changed the motto to "*Nil desperandum*." It seems to me this change is full of pathos, and it is not the least expressive among the very few indications his proud spirit ever gave of the suffering against which he struggled. In all the correspondence of his future life, and that of his family, I find hardly an allusion to his career in America; no complaint; whatever his regret and feelings, he gave no sign, but this change in the motto on his seal—from "*Mihi gloria cessum*," to "*Nil desperandum*" ("Never despair")—tells the story of his sufferings, and how he struggled against despair.

The kindness shown to the exile and his family by the King and Queen was honorable to them, especially to King George, who, whatever Arnold's faults, seems to have been touched by his reverses of fortune, caused by what was treason to his country, but which the King regarded as a return to his allegiance. However Arnold's conduct might look to others, and however justly and severely it might be condemned by his countrymen and the world, perhaps it was not unnatural for the King to see in it a sincere and honest change of opinion, and a return of personal loyalty to himself. He took Arnold at his word, and always treated him and his family as though he believed he had sincerely and honestly and from good motives returned to his allegiance. Hence the favor with which he was received at Court; hence the pension to Mrs. Arnold and her children, and the King's active aid in placing Arnold's sons in the way of obtaining a military education preparatory to commissions in the British army, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.

The sad fate of Major André had created a profound sensation in England, and when, soon after Arnold's arrival there, it was suggested to the King to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, Arnold took a warm interest in the movement, and both he and his wife watched its progress to completion with the deepest sympathy.

An American loyalist, an exile in England for his opinions, mentions in his diary the incident of seeing General Arnold and his wife in Westminster Abbey, reading the inscription on André's monument and conversing together.

"Many a citizen of the great Western Republic," as Dean Stanley says, "has paused before the sight of this sad story," but never any with hearts more deeply touched than were those of Arnold and his wife.

Had the loyalist who recorded the above incident been behind some contiguous monument, he would probably have heard a sad dialogue between these exiles, lamenting the pitiable fate of poor André. He would have heard Mrs. Arnold recall the bright days of her girlhood, when André, the gayest of the gay, was the frequent guest of her father, and the brilliant favorite of the social circle in which she moved. He would have heard Arnold recall his parting from André on the banks of the Hudson, and he might have heard the exiled General, when looking back upon the terrible fate of André and his own still unhappy life, exclaim:

"Would that I had died in battle at Quebec, or on the bloody deck of my ship on Lake Champlain, or at Saratoga, rather than this terrible drama! Then André might have been alive to-day, and you happy at your father's fire-side."

"Do not reproach yourself," interrupted his wife. "My own life can never be unhappy while you and our children are with me."

After a pause Arnold continued:

"Yonder," pointing towards the chapel of Henry VII., "yonder, among England's kings, lie the remains of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, whose part in England's history I was to re-enact in America, *as they told me*," said Arnold with a smile of bitter irony upon himself. "If I had succeeded, as I hoped," said he, "in re-uniting the Empire, I too might have found a place and a monument here—as they promised me."

As he lingered, sadly leaning on André's monument, among the graves of so many who have made the greatness and the glory of England, he realized that,

"No nation's eyes would on *his* tomb be bent,
No hero envy him *his* monument,
However boldly his warm blood was spilt,
His life was shame, his epitaph was guilt."

ISAAC N. ARNOLD

¹ Manuscript letter of Rev. Edward Gladwin Arnold. The following is a copy of the Royal warrant for Mrs. Arnold's pension:

"GEORGE R. Our will & pleasure is, and we do hereby direct, authorize & command, that an annuity or Yearly pension of Five hundred pounds be established & paid by You unto Margaret Arnold, wife of our trusty & well beloved Brigadier General, Benedict Arnold, to commence

from the date hereof, & continue during our pleasure, in such & like manner as our other established pensions payable by You are, &c., and this shall be therefor a sufficient Warrant. Given at our court at St. James, the 19th day of March, 1782, In the 22d year of our Reign. By his Majesty's command.

" NORTH.

" PALMENTON.

" R. SURTON.

" To our Right Trusty & well beloved
WILLIAM HALL, VICOUNT GAGE,
Paymaster of our Pensions, &c."

* They (the arms) are identical with those engraved on the Tomb-Stone of Oliver Arnold, of Rhode Island, who died in 1770, and those of Sir Nicholas Arnold, of Higham Court, county of Gloucester, whose family came from Monmouth, Wales. The motto, '*Mihi gloria cessum*,' is traditional. * * we translate it, '*Through glory yielded to me*.' C. H. ARNOLD."

Others have translated it, "My glory is on high," and "All I seek is glory."

NOTE.—This article will appear as a Chapter in a Life of Benedict Arnold, by Hon. Isaac N. Arnold. President of the Chicago Historical Society, shortly to be published. EDITOR.

THE SKIRMISH AT POUNDRIDGE, WESTCHESTER

1779

In these days of centennial celebrations it may be of some interest to note that July 2d, 1879, was the one hundredth anniversary of an encounter at Poundridge, Westchester county, New York, between a detachment of British troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, and Colonel Sheldon's Continental regiment. Although of no especial importance so far as the results of the skirmish are concerned, still the history of the affair is interesting as showing the fidelity to the American cause of the people of a locality somewhat removed (in those days) from the more active scenes of hostilities.

The report from each of the contending parties has been preserved. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp on the Bronx, July 2d, 1779, 11 P. M., writes, that with a detachment of about two hundred he started at half-past eleven o'clock on the night of July 1st, proceeding through North Castle and Bedford towards Poundridge, without any material occurrence. He had been informed of the number and situation of Colonel Sheldon's regiment, but when very near Poundridge his guide mistook the road. The error was discovered and rectified as soon as possible. In the meantime, however, Colonel Sheldon had received intelligence of his approach, and his regiment was mounted and formed behind the meeting-house at Poundridge. An attack was instantly made, and Sheldon's troops were routed and pursued several miles on the Stamford and Salem roads, losing twenty-six or twenty-seven killed and wounded, besides the regimental standard, arms and accoutrements. Tarleton further writes that "*the inveterancy of the inhabitants of Poundridge and near Bedford in firing from houses and outhouses, obliged us to burn some of their meeting houses, dwellings and stores.*" He closes by stating his loss to be one killed, one wounded, and one horse killed.

Rivington's account in the Gazette of July 7, 1779, states in substance that on the night of July 1st Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton marched with a detachment of cavalry, and early in the morning attacked a party of "Rebel Nags," commanded by a Colonel Sheldon, in the neighborhood of Bedford; that the rebels retreated, losing about

twenty-two killed and wounded. Several houses were burned in retaliation for the acts of the militia in firing from behind fences upon the British. This account gives Tarleton's loss, one corporal killed and one Light Horseman wounded.

The report as it is given by our side differs somewhat from the foregoing. We learn from a letter, written as is supposed by an officer of Colonel Sheldon's regiment, dated at Salem, July 3, 1779, that Colonel Sheldon, being aware of the approach of the enemy, was ready to receive them. Owing to the superior number of Tarleton's force, the Continental troops were obliged to move off. A scattering fire was kept up between the forces for more than two miles. Some of the militia afterwards collected, and in turn pursued the British, following them below North Castle church. The writer says: "They moved off with such precipitation that we could not come up with them." Colonel Sheldon's loss was ten wounded, eight missing, and twelve horses missing. The enemy's loss was one killed, wounded uncertain, four prisoners, four horses captured, and one horse killed.

Another account published at Poughkeepsie in the New York Journal of July 5, 1779, gives substantially the same report. The enemy burned the meeting-house at Poundridge, and also the house of Major Lockwood at the same place. They would not suffer his family to take anything away. The enemy's loss is given—two killed and twenty-four taken prisoners. Colonel Sheldon had four of his men taken, and four of the inhabitants fell into Tarleton's hands. The number wounded on either side could not be ascertained.

Still another account is taken from a journal kept by Major-General William Heath. This report states that three hundred of the enemy's Light Horse came out from Mile Square, and attacked Colonel Sheldon's Light Horse, about ninety in number, who were posted at Poundridge. The superior force of the enemy obliged Colonel Sheldon at first to retreat, but being reenforced by the militia, he in turn pursued the enemy. Sheldon's loss was one Corporal, one Trumpeter and eight privates wounded; three Sergeants, one Corporal and four privates missing, and twelve horses also missing. Of the enemy, one was killed, four taken prisoners, four horses captured, and one horse killed. It will thus be seen that each side claimed the victory.

The meeting house at Poundridge, which was burned by Colonel Tarleton on this occasion, was erected in the year 1760 by the Presbyterian Society. The church was rebuilt in 1786; this edifice is now standing.

It is perhaps not pertinent to this sketch, but it is a noteworthy fact that its present pastor, the Rev. William Patterson, has occupied the pulpit since 1835.

Major Lockwood, above referred to, was very active and zealous in his support of the American cause. With a commission as Major in the Westchester County Militia, and as a member of the Committee of Safety, and of the Provincial Congress, he devoted himself, at a great pecuniary sacrifice, to his country. He was especially obnoxious to the British, and forty guineas had been offered for his head. During this attack of July 2d Tarleton's forces burnt his house at Poundridge with most of its contents, and drove off his valuable stock of cattle. The British soldiers treated his wife with great cruelty, one of them striking her with a sword, from the effects of which she never fully recovered.

In this connection the following incident is related: The soldiers upon entering Major Lockwood's house said to his wife in an insolent manner: "Where is that d—d rebel?" Mrs. Lockwood, who was a good Christian woman, replied, indignantly: "Rebel! you are the Rebels; for you are rebelling against the King of Kings!"

The descendants of many of the inhabitants of Poundridge, who were actors in the exciting events of this day, still live in the vicinity, and although there was an absence of any ceremony on the occasion of its one hundredth anniversary, still this brief notice may not be inappropriate.

JAMES B. LOCKWOOD

NOTE.—The name *Poundridge* is undoubtedly derived from an ancient Indian *pound*, which formerly stood at the foot of a high *ridge*, by means of which the Indians were in the habit of entrapping wild game.

The village is pleasantly situated on high ground, in about the centre of the township. It was first settled about the year 1744. The New York and New Haven railroad is twelve miles and the Harlem railroad eight miles distant. Being thus somewhat difficult of access the village has increased but little in size. The country is hilly, but tolerably adapted to agricultural purposes. In the northeast part of the town is situated Cross-pound, which by its outlet runs into the Croton River and forms a portion of the water supply of New York City. Immediately south of this sheet of water was formerly a chain of three small lakes all communicating with one another. Within a few years they have been formed into one body of water, called Trinity Lake, which is the source of the water supply of Stamford, Connecticut, twelve miles distant.

J. B. L.

JOURNAL OF MARCH FROM
FORT SCHUYLER

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS

1779

BY THOMAS MACHIN, CAPTAIN IN COL.

LAMB'S SECOND REGIMENT,

N. Y. ARTILLERY

Communicated by F. H. Roof

Early on Monday morning, 19th of April, 1779—Marched from fort Schuyler with a Detachment of Troops, Consisting of 558 men, Including officers, and after moveing Eaight Days provision Into Battows, wich had been conveyed over a carying place in the night, and Leaving sufficient Number of Soldiers to asist the Battowe men to get the Boats down Wood Crick, with five officers to hurry them on—

The Remainder of Troops marched to the old Scow place, Twenty two miles by land, but much more by water ; the Troops ar'ved by 3 o'clock p. m., but the Boats did not all arrive untill 10 o'clock, having been much obstructed by trees which had fallen across the Crick : as soon as the Boats arived the whole of the Troops Embarked, and on Entring the onidahogo was much Impeded by a cold head wind. Made one halt in the night for the rearmost Boats to come up, and then proceeded to Possers bay, whare we Arrived at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, to wait again for the Coming up of all the Boats, when we continued with as much Expedition as possible to the Onondago Landing, opposite to old fort, and arived there at

3 o'clock p. m ; from whence, after leaving the Boats with Proper Guard, we marched Eaight or nine miles on our way to the Onondago Settlement, and lay on our Arms all Night without fire, not being able to continue our marching. Dark. The Night cold. Very early on the 21st proceeded to the old Salt Lake, and at 9 o'clock a. m. Forded an arm of that Lake, two hundred yards over, and four feet Deep a considerable part of the way. Pushed on to the Onondaga Breech, whare Capt Graham, with his Company of Light Infantry, took an Onondago Warrior prisoner, wich was the first Indian discovered — ordered Capt Graham to Endeavour to surround the first onondago Settlements, wich ware about Two miles of, and hastning on the troops By Companys as fast as he crost the Creek upon a Log, the Creek not being fordable, I soon arrived with the whole Detachment at the principle Castle, but was before apprised of their haveing discovered our advanced Parties while they ware takeing some prisoners, upon which I ordered Different Routs to be taken by several Different Detachments, in order to surround as [many] of their Settlements as possible at the same time, which Extended Eaight Miles in Length, with some scattered habitations laying back of the Costs, and on the opposite side of the Creek; but notwithstanding Entred their first settlement in the most secret manner, and quite undiscovered by them, thay soon recd the alarm throughout the whole, and fled to the woods, but without being able to carry off any thing with them. We took thirty three Indians & one white Prisoner, & killed

twelve Indians; the whole of their Settlement, consisting of about fifty Houses, with a quantity of corn, and every other kind of Stock we found whare Killed; about one Hundred guns, some of which ware Rifles, was among the Plunder, the whole of which, after the men had Loaded with as much as they could carry, was Destroyed, with a Considerable quantity of amunition. One Swivel taken at the Counsel House had the Trunions Broke off and otherways Damaged; in fine, the Destruction of all their Settlements ware compleat; after which we began our march back, Recrossing the Creek, and forded the arm of the Lake, along side of which we Encamped on very good ground. Having been once Interrupted in our Return by a Small party of Indians, who fired at us from the opposite side of the Creek, but were soon beat off by Lieut Evens Rifle, with the Loss of one Killed on the part of the Enemy, and none on our own. Fair Weather all this Day. 22d, marched Down to the Landing. Found Bateaus in good order; Reimbarked, and Rowed to the Seven Miles Island, whare we Encamp.

Fair weather—23d Crossed the Lake and Landed two miles up Wood Creek at two o'clock; left two companies to guard and assist the Bataus Men in giting up the Boats, marched Eaight Miles, and Encampt along side Feals Creek.

Fair Weather, Saturday, 24th. Small showers of Rain on our march to the fort, whare we arrived at 12 o'clock, having been out five Days and half, the whole distance of going out and Returning Being One Hundred Eighty miles, not having [lost] a Single Man—

NEW YORK IN 1809

REMINISCENCES OF THE FIRM OF ARCHIBALD GRACIE & COMPANY, BY
CHARLES KING

From the New York Courier and Enquirer

A mercantile notice in your paper yesterday recalls so vividly a like notice, issued in the chief commercial paper of this City, Lang's Gazette, all but a half century ago, that I must pray you to spare to the reminiscence thus renewed a brief space in your journal—valuable as that space necessarily is.

Archibald Gracie, of Mobile, announces that he has taken into partnership his son Archibald, and that the business will be continued under the firm of Archibald Gracie & Son. Nearly fifty years ago the father of this Archibald Gracie announced here that he had taken into partnership his son William, and that the firm would be Archibald Gracie & Son.

That firm in this City, and that father and son have passed away—but not so the memories of some yet surviving hearts—and the most endearing memory is that of the heart—of the liberal spirit, the intelligent and far-reaching enterprise, and especially of the kindly, generous sympathy with all connected with their business in any way—which distinguished that firm.

The good name and fragrant memory of that fine old New York merchant, whose beautiful ships, and well known red and white private signal were familiar in every sea—remain a pride and an inheritance to his children and his children's children, and when at this distant day that name is revived and reinstated,

though in a far off city, by a son worthy of it in manliness of character, integrity of dealing and intelligence of enterprise—it may be pardoned to one, who knew and shared the love of the father, to express the delight with which he hails and welcomes this revival by the son and the son's son of a thrice honored firm.

Few indeed comparatively are those, who from personal recollection can sympathize in this his joy—for about two generations have come and gone since that day, and the ample Mercantile Directory of this City does not probably now contain half a dozen firms which were in existence then—and if our partnerships have changed, how remarkable the change in other respects. At that time to which reference is made—about 1809—the City of New York contained 96,000 inhabitants; it now contains, exclusive of its suburbs of Long Island, Staten Island, in Westchester and New Jersey, some 650,000. There was then but one steamboat in the world, and that belonged to New York, and floated on the Hudson. Now steamboats are as numerous almost as three masted vessels, and their smoke funnels are seen at every wharf. Mobile was then a Spanish possession, and Alabama was not. The whole tonnage of the United States may then have been about 900,000. The tonnage of the port of New York alone now exceeds 1,300,000. The largest merchant ship then known to our commerce did not exceed, and rarely equalled 500 tons. Now they go up to 3,500. The sea-going steamers, the rail-road, the electric telegraph, were unheard of. The extremest northern

limit of the City was the open ditch in Canal St. The region beyond was country houses, tea-gardens, orchards and corn fields. No omnibus had then vexed our pavements, and few and far between were the fire-engines, which ran then in the middle of the street, and not on the sidewalk.

Then the tolling of the bells was the signal for every good citizen to turn out with his regulation leathern bucket in hand, and falling into line, hand them along from cisterns and pumps to the fire. Pumps, then at frequent corners, and often in the middle of the street, supplied all the water used, and not a little embarrassed the militia tactics on grand holidays and parade days, in manoeuvring around and about them, so as to preserve the line. The Croton then was only renowned for its striped bass. The hour then was early and the habits simple—high change at 12 M., and dinner late at 3 o'clock, and at work again in the Counting House after dinner. The old City Hall was then in honor, and the great building of the City. It was of modest size, yet was there room in it for all the municipal legislation, all the municipal offices and courts of law. All the voting of the City was done there, and then each election lasted three days.

But I promised to be brief, yet the chapter of the past, when once opened by the magic of a cherished name, and precious recollections, is very tempting. Yet I stop.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The Gracie House, a view of which accompanies this reprint, stands between Eighty-eighth and Eighty-ninth streets, Avenue A and the East River, which it overlooks.

The ground is historic, and was known in the last century as Horens' Hook. This position, commanding the entrance to the river from the Sound, one of the principal approaches to the city, early attracted the eye of the engineers of the Continental Army, who here erected a strong redoubt and a battery in 1775 and 1776. After the battle of Long Island, the British moved up the river bank to Hallet's Point opposite, and an artillery fire ensued between the gunners of the contending forces, which, renewed at intervals, was continued until the final withdrawal of the Americans from their post on the 15th of September, 1776. Occasional relics of this artillery duel, cannon balls and grape-shot, have been found on the ground in late years.

This charming spot, which the passer on the river recognizes by an enormous tree,* towering above the bluff, has been long admired for its rural beauty. Jacob Walton, a magnate of the days when merchants were Princes in New York, here erected an elegant mansion for his young bride, Polly Cruger, whom he married in 1760. She was a daughter of Henry Cruger, the colleague of Burke, as member for Bristol in the British Parliament. The traits of Mr. Walton's character have come down to us in some verses, which appeared in the New York Journal of 1769, when he was a candidate, as merchants were in those days, for public office.

For worth and for truth and good nature
renowned,
Let the name and applause of WALTON go round.
His Prudence attracts—but his free honest Soul
Gives a Grace to the Rest and enlivens the Whole.

When General Charles Lee took command of the city and its defences, he ordered Mr. Walton to give up the house for the accommodation of the troopers. This was a sad blow to the domestic happiness of the young couple. A contemporary letter describes the scene: "When Mrs. Walton received the order to go out of her house, she burst into tears, for she was fixed to her heart's desire." By how uncertain a tenure do we hold the good and desirable possession of this world!

From this time until the evacuation of the island in 1783, Horens' Hook was a martial camp. The British also established a hospital here for sick and wounded soldiers. A more salubrious spot, and a more commodious building, could not have been chosen. The elevated plateau, covered with thick woods and abundant lesser vegetation, the ocean breezes, which sweep over it, following the rising and falling tides, and its proximity to the swift, salt river, it seems a spot, marked by nature itself, where suffering man may quickly recuperate his weakened energies.

Soon after the war, when New York again felt the impulse of a renewal of her extensive maritime trade, her charming suburbs again attracted the notice of her wealthy citizens, and on both sides of the island numerous country houses, or "seats," as they were then styled in English parlance, sprung up. The East River shore, from Turtle Bay to Hell Gate, was the preferred locality. Here lived the families of Kip, Beekman, Pearsall, LeRoy, Arden, Van Zandt, Jones, Lawrence, Riker, Marston

Schermerhorn, Cruger, Astor, Rhineland, and others too numerous to mention.

Here Archibald Gracie made his residence also, and Horens' Hook took the name of Gracie's Point, by which it is still known, although it passed out of the hands of the family nearly half a century ago. It was afterwards for a long time the property of the Foulkes, but has this year (1879) been divided into plots and sold. It is one of the mysteries of our municipal management that when the East River Park, which covers the square from Eighty-fifth to Eighty-sixth streets, was purchased, this historic point, which commands the most extensive view of the surrounding landscape, and is already, by its natural and artificial beauties, entirely fitted for public use, was neglected or forgotten.

The old building and the point are now in the possession of Mr. N. Wheaton, who resides on the place.

EDITOR.

* This tree, a noble specimen of the Balsam Poplar, or Cotton tree species (*Tacamahaca—Populus Balsamifera*), is nearly, or quite two centuries old, and probably the largest on New York Island. It measures fourteen feet in circumference, taken at a height of thirty-six inches from the ground. Its branches begin at not less than thirty feet from the ground and spread into an enormous dome. Yet so full the tree and so perfect its symmetry, that at a short distance its size and height do not strike the eye.

NOTES

GENERAL SULLIVAN IN RHODE ISLAND, 1778.—Until I saw the September number of the Magazine, and read the note

of the editor to my Justification of General Sullivan (III. 554), I was not aware on what authority was based the statement in "The French in Rhode Island" (III. 390), or in the justification would have been presented the reasons and facts to show that the authority quoted was mistaken.

It was surely not possible for General Sullivan on the 29th of July to know how long it would take to collect the forces needed for the attack on the British posts. Although actually on the island ten days thereafter, he might well have indulged the hope that this might have been possible earlier.

In a letter to D'Estaing he says,

"His (my) reason for wishing the larger part your force being destined to block up the middle channel is to prevent a re-inforcement being thrown upon the island, and render your fleet so strong as to prevent any attempt of the enemy's fleet from New York, and to co-operate with those ships which pass up the west channel and turn Conanicut, preventing three British Regiments now encamped on that island from passing over in their boats to reinforce the troops on Rhode Island. After that is carried, they must all become prisoners of course. Your Excellency will please pardon my freedom in giving these hints. Your much superior judgment will induce you to reject those which you conceive improper, and improve those which you deem worthy of notice. I should be happy to have your advice and opinion upon the operations, which Colonel Laurens will instruct you how to forward. I shall be exceedingly happy to have your opinion with respect to every land operation, as well as your instructions as to those by water."

The three British regiments here alluded to were withdrawn simultaneously with the arrival of the fleet. D'Estaing on the 31 wrote that he "sincerely approved of the plan of operations; that to go higher up would expose his ships,

without good result, to the fire of the British batteries, and that he could not be sure of sufficient depth of water or anchorage. Vessels had been sunk by the enemy to increase the dangers of navigation, and the north wind rarely blowing at that season of the year, he could not work his fleet to advantage, or be prepared, in case the enemy's fleet appeared, to act."

Another suggestion is thrown out in the correspondence, viz., that the garrison might escape. It was moreover a favorite plan of D'Estaing as a feint, or in case the siege rendered it prudent, to land his troops, or part of them, with some portion of the Americans at Tower Hill, and attack the town from the south, where it was particularly vulnerable. This could not be prudently attempted till the siege had proceeded with sufficient success to secure a retreat without disaster in the event of reverse to the American forces.

As D'Estaing had exclusive control of his own movements; as Sullivan in expressing his views left all to D'Estaing's judgment; as there were four or five valid reasons accepted between them for guarding the middle channel; as the French vessels in the east channel might have been captured by the enemy, when the wind favored, if D'Estaing was farther up the bay, and too remote to assist them with a wind adverse to himself, I feel confident that no careful judgment will attribute the laying there of the fleet, from the 29th of July to the 8th of August, to a "*whim of Sullivan*," to use the words quoted in the text of the "French in Rhode Island" and the note of the editor to my reply.

I have in my possession a correspondence of some hundred letters connected with the siege, which I shall be glad to show to any one interested in the truth of American history. Many of them are long and about fifty in French and naturally miscellaneous. Printed without notes they would not be so well understood as in connection with the history of the siege. Such a history has been read before the Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Newport Historical Societies, and if published, with the general orders, contemporary accounts of siege and battle and other illustrations, ought to find readers, as Newport is so well known. It would not take long for preparation if it found encouragement. The retreat to Butt's Hill on the 28th August is stated in the September No. of the Magazine, vol. III, p. 554, to have been on Tuesday instead of Friday. This was no mistake of mine but of the copyist.

THOMAS C. AMORY.

Boston, September 5, 1879.

QUERIES

A LOST CHARTER.—*The Charter of the New York Chamber of Commerce.*—At the time of the great fire of 1835 the Chamber of Commerce had its rooms in the Merchants' Exchange, which was burned. The properties of the Chamber were mostly removed, and have been recovered, some after a lapse of many years. But the charter, granted by Lieutenant-Governor Colden in 1770, and preserved with its seal has been since missing. The writer, a youth at the time, has a recollection that the box was

carried across Wall street to the office of Primebard & King. The box was of dark mahogany, with a circular receptacle at one end for the seal. What has become of it?

COMMERCE.

FIRST BANK IN AMERICA.—In what city or town was the first American bank founded, and who was its originator?

PENN.

GROANING BEER.—Sewall in his diary, under date of February 16, 1676-7, writes that on that day he "brewed his wife's Groaning Beer." Can any of your readers tell me what is the meaning of this term? Was it an old-style caudle?

MEDICUS.

VIOMENIL'S CINCINNATI CERTIFICATE. About a year since there was sold at auction by the Messrs. Bangs a perfectly clean, fresh certificate of membership of this society, originally issued to the Baron de Vioménil. Who was the purchaser of this relic?

COLLECTOR.

LONGEVITY IN THE COLONIES.—The Abbé Robin in his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, published at Paris in 1782, says "of the women, that at twenty they have no longer the bloom of youth, and thirty-five or forty, they are wrinkled and broken down. The men grow almost as prematurely old. I presume that life must be shorter here. I examined all the burying grounds in Boston; it is the custom to inscribe the names and ages of the dead on each stone; I found, in fact that the lives of the greater

part of the dead there who had arrived at manhood did not exceed fifty years; I saw very few of sixty, hardly any at seventy, and none of more." He adds in a note, that he had "examined all the cemeteries, from Boston to Williamsburg (Virginia), with the same care, a distance of nearly three hundred leagues, and with the same result."

Is this statement borne out by the facts? I have heard that when the British actuaries first began life insurance in this country, they found the longevity so much greater than in England as to render it necessary to remodel their tables. The question is worthy of examination, and I hope may find a reply.

New York.

OLD MORTALITY.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.—I have lately been looking up the history of the great men in our early history, especially from 1765—the time of the Stamp Act—through the revolutionary period, and I wish to be historically correct. Robert R. Livingston was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 from New York, and was one of the Committee of Five to draft the Declaration of Independence. Why did he not sign the Declaration? Cannot some one of your readers inform me in regard to this?

R. W. JUDSON.

Ogdensburg, N. Y.

REPLIES

DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III, 456.) In reference to this query I contribute the following, from a History of Arlington, Mass., I have in preparation.

De Neufville, John, merchant, formerly of Amsterdam—"eminent merchant" (gravestone)—died here (Arlington, Mass.) Dec. 5, 1796, aged 68. Anna Margareta De Neufville, of Cambridge, married John Stoughton, of Boston, Nov. 11, 1799. Anna Cecilia Linzee, wife of Ralph I. Linzee, and daughter of John De Neufville, Esq., died Jan. 27, 1811, aged 25 (gravestone, Arlington). The name was pronounced in this place as if spelled *Dunnewill*.

My friend, Mr. John Brooks Russell, of Newmarket, N. J., who has made this name a particular study in connection with his researches into the history of his native town of Arlington, remembers seeing, when a boy, a stone in the old burying-ground to *Hyde De Neufville*, which cannot now be found. The family place of interment was first in the tomb of the first minister of the town, the Rev. Mr. Cooke. The De Neufvilles having boarded with Miss Cooke, the daughter of the minister, who kept a genteel boarding house in her father's parsonage. A tomb, built by "Stoughton and R. I. Linzee, A. D. 1812," now contains the remains of the De Neufvilles in Arlington, and here their gravestones now rest.

Mr. Russell has already published a letter of Mrs. De Neufville dated 1799, which shows the straits to which she was reduced "in the chain" of her husband's pecuniary ruin.

Her husband, John Stoughton was Spanish Consul for the New England States in 1810. His death occurred Jan. 28, 1820, aged 75, as by gravestone here; and that of his wife (formerly Mrs. De Neufville) occurred Oct. 29, 1837, aged

78, per gravestone. The first parish in this town granted permission to Don Juan Stoughton, in 1811, to build a tomb in the burying-ground.

Mr. Russell, when once present at an opening of the Rev. Mr. Cooke's tomb, remembered one coffin pointed out as that containing the *Duellist*. This was probably of De Neufville, as he was known as the duellist, according to the testimony of an intelligent lady now living, aged 94 years; and he had possibly fought a duel, or had the reputation of one, the particulars of which are now both here.

WILLIAM R. CUTTER.

Lexington, Mass.

SMITH'S CLOVE.—(III. 515.) The Marquis de Chastellux, in his "Travels in North America in the Years 1780, '81, '82," when on his way from Philadelphia to visit General Washington, via New Jersey, after reaching the boundaries of New York, writes as follows:

"The country I was to pass through, called the *Clove*, is extremely wild, and was scarcely known before the war; it is a sort of valley gorge, situated to the westward of the high mountains between New Windsor and King's Ferry, and at the foot of which are West Point and Stony Point, and the principal forts which defend the river. In times when the river (Hudson's) is not navigable, on account of ice or contrary winds, it is necessary to have communication by land between the States of New York and the Jerseys between New Windsor and Morristown. This communication traversing the *Clove*. When Genl Greene was Quarter-

Master General, he opened a road for the convoy of provisions and the artillery. This was the road I took, leaving on my right the Romopog road, and ascending by that which comes from Ringwood."

Albany.

J. H. V. A.

JAMES MCHENRY.—(III, 362.) The following corrections in the paper embodying Dr. McHenry's article on the Battle of Monmouth are due to information now in possession of the family, and not accessible to the authorities quoted from.

Page 362.—Line 14, Dr. James McHenry died 3d May, not 16th May, 1816. Line 22, He came to Philadelphia and not to Baltimore in 1771. Line 36, Anna, born 20th November, 1789, not 20th March, 1788.

Page 363.—Line 3, John, died 6th October, 1822, not 1821; James Howard, born 11th October, not 17th October. Line 9, John, died October, 1860, not 1856. Line 16, Monmouth was an estate of Colonel Ramsay McHenry, and not as printed, "of Colonels Ramsay and McHenry."

T. H. M.

AN OLD RHODE ISLAND BOOK.—(III, 517.) In answer to this query I beg to say that the *Modest Proof*, etc., there referred to, was printed in 1723 in Boston (80 pp., ii., iv., 64), from the pen of I. Checkley, and copies of it may be found in the Congregational Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, in that of Harvard College, and in that of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

It was replied to in the same year by E. Wigglesworth, in *Sober Remarks on a Book Entitled "A Modest Proof," etc., in a Letter to a Friend*, Boston, 16mo, a copy of which is in the Congregational Library. This was reprinted the next year, and a copy of the reprint is in the Prince, Mass. Historical, Harvard, and Antiquarian Libraries.

Checkley responded next year in *A Defence of a Book Entitled "A modest Proof," etc., in a reply to "Sober Remarks," etc.*, Boston, 8vo, pp. ii., 73, 14, i., a copy of which is in the Antiquarian Library.

The well-known Jonathan Dickinson, afterwards first President of Princeton College, in 1724, took part in the controversy by *Remarks upon the Postscript to "Defence of a Modest Proof," etc.*, Boston, 8vo, pp. ii., 30, a copy of which is in the Congregational and Prince Libraries.

HENRY M. DEXTER.

Greystones', New Bedford.

MOURNING WOMEN.—(III, 451.) At the funeral of the writer's grandmother, Mrs. Job Haines, daughter of Colonel Thomas, of Elizabeth, N. J., who died in that place in 1792, in her 24th year, the *pall-bearers* were *young women*, dressed in white. So stated by the late Mrs. William Chetwood, of Elizabeth, who was present. Another aged friend, now living in this city, has since recalled a similar instance occurring when she was young, in the same ancient New Jersey town. In this case, the official mourning women were six in number, each wearing a white turban, or high white-veiled hat. W. H.

Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE LIFE OF ALBERT GALLATIN.

By HENRY ADAMS. 8vo, pp. 697. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

THE WRITINGS OF ALBERT GALLATIN.

Edited by HENRY ADAMS. 8vo, 3 vols., pp. 607—666—646. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

The papers of Albert Gallatin constitute one of the richest mines of historical material in the United States. At his death, in 1849, they were left to the care of his son, Albert Rolaz Gallatin, of New York, the only survivor of his children, and the literary executor of his father by express testamentary disposition. They include official reports, speeches, papers on political economy, and subjects of scientific, archaeological and ethnologic interest.

For precise accuracy of information on a range of subjects which may almost be said to be co-extensive with human knowledge, Mr. Gallatin was not equalled, certainly not surpassed by any man of his time. His opinions were sought after and respected, in Europe as well as in America, and his name and fame were cosmopolitan. In everything he was foremost, a tower among men. As a statesman he was sound and far-sighted, as a political leader, keen and authoritative, as an administrator, comprehensive and precise. Thoroughly acquainted with the secular history of European politics, and well versed in the arts of the professors of the occult science of diplomacy, he met, on equal terms, the best trained negotiators, penetrated their motives, and achieved his own purposes. As a financier, he laid down the principles of political economy in a manner which render further argument or illustration superfluous, and his management of the finances of the United States shows that he was as able in practice as he was sound in theory. His contributions to antiquarian journals placed him in the front rank of scientific observers, while the practical usefulness of his studies has brilliant demonstration in the continued use of the vocabularies which he suggested as a key to American Indian languages by the Smithsonian explorers. In a word he was easily first in nearly every branch of human learning.

To all these remarkable gifts he added that still more rare of extraordinary conversational power. His breadth of mental scope, the profoundness of his observation, the precision and lucidity of his reasoning, and the affluent variety of his illustration, were the marvel of all who approached him. Wholly free from dogmatism or

imperiousness, he was always instructive; while the dignity of his manner, courteous without distance, and the persuasive fluency of his graceful speech, lent a winning charm to his conversation which none who ever listened to him can ever forget. Even after his withdrawal from political and active life, his society was eagerly sought, and in his latter days a "Gallatin Club" was formed by a number of the most eminent of New York citizens, of which he was the central figure, and the purpose of which was to listen to his conversation. It was on occasion of some of these symposia, and more often in his own library, sitting in silent wonder at his feet by his gracious permission, that it was our happy privilege to know something of this extraordinary character, of whom it is not an exaggeration to say, that for compositeness of nature, scope of mental faculties, and extent of learned acquirements, no superior can be found in the entire range of American character.

To this multifarious excellence Mr. Adams does not seem to us to have been sufficiently alive, and there is still room for a biography of an interest equal to that which he has written. He divides his work into five books, severally entitled: I. Youth, 1761-1790. II. The Legislature, 1789-1801. III. The Treasury, 1801-1813. IV. Diplomacy, 1813-1829. V. Age, 1830-1849.

The Gallatins trace their descent from Faulcherius de Gallatin, who died before 1258. Of this we have evidence before our eyes, in a genealogy to which the following is attached:

COPY OF CERTIFICATE GIVEN BY THE SYNDIC AND COUNSELLORS OF THE CITY AND REPUBLIC OF GENEVA. Dated 6th August, 1770.

The Syndic and Counsellors of the City and Republic of Geneva certify that the Gallatin Family, having presented to us a request that we would appoint one of our Counsellors of State to examine into and compare the original title Papers of said family with the annexed Genealogy. By a decree of 3d Feb'y, 1770, we appointed N. HULLIN, Councillor and Secretary of State, who, on examination of said originals, reported to us that he found the Genealogy in conformity thereto. We do, therefore, hereby certify that the "Genealogy of the Gallatin Family" is agreeable to the original vouchers, and, moreover, it has pleased us to declare that said family have at all times held an honorable and distinguished rank in this City. In faith of which we have expedited this Certificate. Under our seal and the Signature of our Secretary, by the said Seign'rs, Syndic and Counsellors.

[Signed] HULLIN, Secretary of State.

Geneva, 6th April, 1770.

COPY OF CERTIFICATE GIVEN BY THE MAYOR OF GENEVA "CHIEF-LIEU OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LEMAIR, EMPIRE OF FRANCE." 23d January, 1803.

The Mayor of Geneva, Chief Lieutenant of the Department of Lemair, Empire of France, certifies that the foregoing act was transmitted from the Public Reg-

ister, deposited among the Archives of the late Republic of Geneva, which said Archives are in the keeping of this Mayorality.

These presents have been expedited at the request of Jean Louis de Gallatin, attorney of Mr. Abraham Alphonso Albert de Gallatin, his relation of the same name and family, at present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in America; who was born in this city on the 20th of January, 1761, legitimate son of Jean de Gallatin and Sophia Albertina Rolaz, his wife; which said Mr. Abraham Alphonso Albert de Gallatin left Geneva to go to America in 1780.

In faith of which we have signed certificate.

[Signed] MAURICE (Mayor).

Geneva, 23d January, 1803.

Albert Gallatin, founder of the American family, and the subject of this biography, was born in the city of Geneva, January 29, 1761. Left an orphan at nine years of age, he received his early training at the hands of a distant relative of his father, who in a measure adopted him; no expense was spared upon his education, though he was taught a frugality in expenditure, which he never forgot in later years in public station or private life. He was graduated from the Academy of Geneva in 1779, first in his class in mathematics, philosophy and Latin translations. He had also acquired the English language. He was often at Ferney, his family being on intimate terms with Voltaire, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the example of this universal genius stimulated his own desire for varied knowledge. At nineteen, the restless spirit of the age had taken possession of him, and rejecting his grandmother's offer to procure him a commission in the Hessian service, he suddenly, on the 1st April, 1780, in company with Serre, a friend of his own age, left Geneva, crossed France, and took passage on an American vessel, the Katty, lying at Nantes, and sailed for Boston on the 16th May. At the instance of the family, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville asked and obtained letters for the two young men from Franklin, then at Passy, to Richard Bache, his son-in-law, which he accompanied, with his accustomed prudence, by the remark, "that their friends would do well to prevent their voyage." They landed at Cape Ann on the 14th July, 1780. The journey to Philadelphia presenting some difficulties in the disturbed state of the country, the young friends passed a year at Machias, on the American frontier of Nova Scotia, in a somewhat aimless manner. The interest of Gallatin in the American cause was shown by the liberal advance of four hundred dollars in supplies to the Continental garrison at this post. The Genevans made a little Swiss colony at Machias during the winter.

In 1782, through the intervention of his family, Dr. Cooper procured the young foreigner the post of French instructor at Harvard College. But this did not long content his restless spirit. The next year, 1783, peace had been made; leaving Cam-

bridge, he traveled to Philadelphia with a French gentleman, M. Savary, who had claims in the State of Virginia, in the prosecution of which, young Gallatin assisted him. At Richmond he was delighted with the old Virginia hospitality. There he met John Marshall and Patrick Henry, the first of whom offered to receive him in his office without a fee, and the latter advised him to "go west." This he did, having engaged with Savary to purchase one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land in Western Virginia, in which Gallatin was to have one quarter, to be paid for at his majority. He crossed the mountains in the spring of 1784, and selected and surveyed the lands for which warrants had been purchased, on the Monongahela River and George's Creek, in Pennsylvania, about four miles north of the Virginia line, where he set up a store. It was while on this tour that he met Washington—an interview which is familiar, from "John Russell Bartlett's Reminiscences of Gallatin." Washington desired to secure his services as his land agent, but Gallatin had no taste for subordinate labor.

His western experiment, Mr. Adams considers a mistake, and notices in this connection that both Hamilton and Dallas were, like himself, strangers, and like him rose to be Secretaries of the National Treasury, yet both remained in large cities. But Hamilton, with whom he can alone be justly compared in the extent of the political power he attained, had received a general training in the revolution; Gallatin, it may be fairly assumed, learned from the very nature of his intercourse with the people, that knowledge of their interests, and insight into their character, which he displayed later as leader of the Democratic party. In 1789 he married Sophie Allegré, of Richmond, of one of the early French Protestant families which emigrated to this country. The mother had refused her consent, unwilling to see her daughter "dragged to the frontier of Pennsylvania by a man without attractions or fortune, who spoke bad English, and had been a schoolmaster at Cambridge." She lived but a few months. Here closes the period of his youth in Mr. Adams' subdivision.

The second period in the career of Mr. Gallatin is properly termed the Legislative period. Though covering but two years, it was one of extreme importance in the life of the man and history of the nation. He first appears on the stage of politics as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Conference, to consider the invitation of New York to call a new Convention to revise the Federal Constitution. When Virginia ratified the Constitution as submitted by the Federal Convention, she recommended several amendments. The New York Convention, where the strong opposition led by Governor Clinton was

only overruled by the tact and eloquence of Hamilton, went a step further and addressed a circular letter to the legislatures of the States, recommending a General Convention. The letter, drawn by Jay, was instantly responded to in Pennsylvania, and the Conference met at Harrisburg on the 8th September following (1788). The ratifications of the several States were only presented to the Congress of the Confederation, which met in New York in 1789, where the "Constitution of the United States" was formally declared the law of the land.

Pennsylvania was thus first in the field, and the opposition to the Federal party, which took the name of the Republican party, is thus seen to have been organized before the Constitution was declared. Mr. Gallatin was not a member of the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution, but in the Conference which followed he was a leading man. Indeed, the draft of the "Declaration of Opinion," adopted by that body, is still extant in his handwriting. The next year the Pennsylvania Legislature summoned a Convention to revise the State Constitution, to which Gallatin was a delegate. This was, as Mr. Adams remarks, his "apprenticeship in the public service." His papers contain numerous memoranda of motions, arguments, points for speeches, which show the minuteness and thoroughness with which he never failed to discharge every public duty. Of this Convention Mr. Gallatin wrote in later life, that it was one of the ablest bodies of which he was a member. In the debates of this Convention, he says of himself, that he took but a subordinate share. He was shy by nature, and perhaps hesitated, in view of his recent naturalization, which took place in 1785, to assume a public prominence. In 1790 he was elected to the State Legislature of Pennsylvania, and re-elected in 1791 and 1792. The first election he carried by a two-thirds vote—in the second and third he had no opposition. During these three years he says of himself, that he "acquired an extraordinary influence in that body (the Pennsylvania House of Representatives), the more remarkable because always in a party minority." This influence he ascribes to his industry and facility. He was "on thirty-five committees, prepared all their reports, and drew all their bills;" this facility was a result of his thorough early training, and we may add, due, in great measure to his Latin education, which usually brings directness of statement and lucidity of style. The foundation of his reputation, he says, was laid by the report he drew for the Committee of Ways and Means, in the Session of 1790-1. In 1793, in one of his reports, he took strong grounds against the institution of Slavery, denounced it as "inconsistent with every principle of humanity, justice and right, and repug-

nant to the express letter of the Constitution of the Commonwealth," and called for its abolition, and the same year he is found as a member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Could other be expected of one who was born and nurtured in the free air of Switzerland—the land of liberty and Tell?

Politics did not run high in the earlier days of the Republic. The enormous prestige of Washington, and his acceptance of the Presidency, sufficed to still, if not to stop, the violent animosities which the struggle over the adoption of the Constitution aroused. At this period, however, a question arose which threatened to "wreck the entire career" of Mr. Gallatin, as the biographer strongly, perhaps too strongly, states it. This was the excise law. Hamilton had laid an excise on domestic spirits as a part of his general scheme to redeem the national finances, and assume the State debts contracted during the war. It met with the same resistance from a turbulent part of the population that a similar tax has met with in our day. The Republicans seized upon it as a popular measure of opposition. The western counties of Pennsylvania were particularly hostile. Gallatin was clerk of a meeting which adopted unwise and impolitic resolutions. His name was connected with them before the public. Although they did not contemplate violence, they led to it. In 1794 the resistance culminated in the open rebellion known as the Whiskey or Western insurrection. Gallatin endeavored to control the movement and lead it into a legal resistance. He seems to have succeeded in a measure that, in his belief, rendered the interference of the government unnecessary; but President Washington thought otherwise, and the United States marched upon and occupied Pittsburg. Neither Washington nor Hamilton were men to hesitate an instant in the enforcement of authority. The Federal system was too young to dally with overt treason. With his usual frankness, Gallatin, in a speech in January, 1795, confessed his errors in counselling contempt for the officers of the law, while he freed himself from any complicity in the measures of rebellion; and he added, that while he had no hesitation in the confession of this "*his only political sin*," the blame should fall on the leaders, and not on the people at large.

In December, 1793, he was elected to the United States Senate by a Legislature in which the Federal party had the control, but he was not long permitted to hold his seat. He was too dangerous an opponent, his opposition to Hamilton and the government policy too open, for an occasion to oust him from his seat to be neglected. By the letter of the Constitution he was ineligible, the period since his naturalization not being sufficient to meet its express re-

quirement He was declared ineligible on the 24th February, 1794, by a vote of 14 to 12. Freed from political duties, he now devoted himself to his private affairs. He had taken to wife in second marriage, Hannah, daughter of Commodore Nicholson, the year preceding.

The next year, 1795, he was returned to the Fourth Congress, notwithstanding the declared opposition of Hamilton, and took his seat in December. He at once grasped the leadership of the opposition, and maintained it unquestioned to the close of his service. His wonderful success he owed to his native flexibility and his perfect self-control. Adams says justly of him, that "he was an ideal party leader, uniting boldness with caution, good temper with earnestness, exact words of thought with laborious investigation, that have no parallel in American experience." He supplanted Madison in the control of the House of Representatives, and held his sway in a body which numbered Madison, Randolph, Edward Livingston, Fisher Ames and John Marshall among its members. It was then that the Federal and Republican parties were arrayed in hostile camps with clearly defined principles. Hamilton determined to repress democracy as a fatal curse; Jefferson, imbued with the ideas of the French revolution of 1789, resolved on democracy or nothing. The end was inevitable, if for no other reason than that the Federalists allowed themselves to be considered as admirers of the Constitution of England, the country from which the American people had freed itself, while the Republicans were the friends of France, who had lent to it her aid. During his terms of Congressional service, which extended through the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, to which he was re-elected, he laid down in an irresistible argument the true limits of the executive, and the right of the House to final coordinate control even of the treaty-making power. He showed his political genius in securing the control of the finances to the House by the establishment of a standing Committee of Ways and Means. On the 4th of March, 1801, Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States. The principles of the Republicans were triumphant. The great Federal power, which had formed, organized and consolidated the government, fell, like Cæsar, prostrate in the Capitol itself, the monument of its triumph. Yet such were the foundations of the powerful government, which Hamilton had devised and built up in immutable strength, that neither by opposition in peace, nor by the shock of war has it ever yet even shaken. Indeed, it was only when the war of the rebellion came that its secret forces were manifested. Well was it replied by the Texian patriot to those who sought to take that State out of the Union, on the plea that the Government was not strong enough,

"that before the revolution they had inaugurated was over, the Government of the United States would be found *strong enough for common uses*." In the formation of the new Cabinet Gallatin was by common consent the choice of the party to direct the finances of the country.

With the nomination of Mr. Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury in 1801 by Jefferson, he entered upon the most brilliant epoch of his life, taking in the three terms during which he controlled this department, when, with Jefferson and Madison, he was one of the Triumvirate that ruled the Republican party and governed the country. This may be styled the administrative period of Gallatin's life.

To Gallatin as to Hamilton, a comprehensive finance was intuitive. Hamilton had no dread of a national debt confined within reasonable limits. Indeed, he had created it to free the States from their unequal burthen, and to build up the national credit on a firm foundation. When fairly funded, the total amount was \$78,000,000. The new policy, which Gallatin inaugurated, not only aimed at paying off this obligation, but refused to incur any new obligation for the support of the army or navy. This Mr. Adams terms the American system. It is the happy fortune of this expanding country that its resources have enabled it to meet the extraordinary exigencies of wars, and the equally extraordinary requirement of a return to the status *ante bellum* of the National Treasury. In the first eleven years of his administration of the Treasury Department, comprising the two terms of Jefferson and the first part of that of Madison, 1801-1812, he reduced the debt from \$83,000,000 to \$45,000,000, and but for the war of 1812 would have entirely extinguished it, on the basis of his original plan, before the close of Madison's first term, and this, notwithstanding the unexpected call of \$15,000,000 for the Louisiana purchase, which, to his honor be it said, he not only approved and favored, but defended in a letter to Jefferson, which, Mr. Adams remarks, Hamilton might have written to Washington in the hour of triumph of Federal ideas.

Throughout his administration Jefferson loyally sustained his Secretary in his efforts to pay off the debt. To use his own words, he regarded its "discharge as vital to the destinies of the Government." Now, however, a question arose, which could no longer be kept in the background, and was soon to subordinate all others. This was the question of peace or war. No man or set of men can successfully oppose a war in which the people consider their pride or honor involved. The exhausted state of the Treasury was sufficient reason for Gallatin's opposition. At this critical moment also the charter of the Bank of the United States lapsed by its termination. On its renewal all his financial plans

depended. The Senate reached a vote upon this question on the 20th February, 1811. It stood 17 to 17, and was decided in the negative by George Clinton, the Vice President. Thus, in the very face of a war with the most dangerous power on earth, the Administration was deprived of the only effective financial agent it then had or could expect to have. No system was then known to replace it. Gallatin's prestige dropped with the Bank. He felt the blow, drew his mantle about him and fell with dignity. He resigned the Treasury in a letter remarkable for its calmness and judgment. The reasons for his resignation were convincing, overwhelming; but Madison refused to accept. Nowhere in his career does Gallatin appear in a more honorable light than during this period of his public life, when crippled, overweighted in loyalty to his party and his chief, he again, to use Mr. Adams' words, "took up his burden." While alive to the difficulties and dangers of war, which the rising sentiment of the country rendered inevitable, Mr. Gallatin spared nothing that could contribute to its successful prosecution. The entire weight of the administration fell on his shoulders. He, it is believed, drew up the Act organizing the army, and it is established beyond question that it was he who fixed the policy of the navy. Deserted by the Ways and Means Committee, baffled by an intractable Congress, and openly opposed by the Federalists in his attempts to float the loan Congress had reluctantly authorized in response to his call of November, 1812, Mr. Gallatin himself, by the aid of his personal friend, John Jacob Astor, and through that gentleman's intervention of Mr. Parish and Mr. Girard, placed his loan, saved the Government from collapse and the country from ruin.

An offer of mediation being made at this time by the Emperor of Russia, Mr. Gallatin gladly availed of the offer made to him by Mr. Madison to lead the mission, while still retaining the post of Secretary, from which the President was now less than ever inclined to release him. But the Senate in their hatred of him refused to confirm his appointment, unless Mr. Madison declared the office of Secretary of the Treasury vacant. This Madison resolutely refused to do, and it was not till February, 1814, that Mr. Gallatin ceased to hold the office. Thus closed his administrative career. In reviewing this part of his life, his biographer says of him, that it "may be doubted whether he ever made a mistake in any of his undertakings, and whether any work done by him has ever been found inefficient." Mr. Adams speaks of the governmental systems of Hamilton and Gallatin as alike failures, yet, he adds, "whatever may have been the extent of their defects, or of their success, one fact stands out in strong relief on the pages of American his-

tory. "Except those theories of government which are popularly represented by the names of Hamilton and Jefferson, no solution of the great problems of American politics has ever been offered to the American people." Nor is it probable or desirable that any definite solution be established. The history of the American Government is a record of oscillation between the systems, the extremes of which these two great men represented. The same antagonism underlies present political divisions, and it is safe to say that it will continue to animate them in the future. It is fortunate for the country that it should be so; a Government without party is a Utopian dream.

There is an almost dramatic completeness in the several epochs of Mr. Gallatin's career, which the classic mind of his biographer has not failed to seize and avail of in his admirably constructed narrative.

The fourth book opens with his diplomatic service. It opens with the departure of the Neptune from Newcastle on the 9th of May, 1813, with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, two of the Envoys of the United States. They arrived at St. Petersburg on the 21st of July. Here they met their fellow commissioner, John Quincy Adams, with whom, although hitherto political antagonists, it fell to the lot of Mr. Gallatin to work side by side in the management of the foreign relations of the United States for nearly twelve years. In his account of these negotiations, which from the beginning seem to have been destined to failure, Mr. Adams assigns to Mr. Gallatin the leading place. Russia had other things to think of than diplomacy, and England was not inclined to deal with America through mediation. In January, 1814, they left St. Petersburg, not having as yet heard a word from the Emperor. Arrived at Amsterdam, they found that Lord Castlereagh had made direct overtures to Mr. Madison, which had been met by the appointment of a new commission, Mr. Henry Clay and Mr. Jonathan Russell being added to the old. By a complication, which need not be related, Mr. Gallatin, who was intended to be the head, was in fact the last named, and consequently the last in rank, but, as Mr. Adams states, "whether first or last in the commission, or whether omitted from it entirely, he continued to superintend all the diplomatic operations connected with the proposed peace." Ghent was fixed as the place of negotiation. The mortifications which Gallatin met with at the hands of the British, the difficulty he had in managing Adams and Clay, who acted upon each other as explosives, are faithfully narrated. The tact with which he steered his way between the shoals which surrounded him, is the most remarkable instance in our history of perfect diplomatic skill, and his delicate

tact probably saved the treaty. After various oscillations and shifting of ground, as the news of the conflict excited or depressed the British Ministry, they at last openly avowed their desire to make peace, and on Christmas day, 1814, the treaty was signed. "Far more," says Mr. Adams, "than contemporaries ever supposed or than is now imagined, the Treaty of Ghent was the special work and peculiar triumph of Mr. Gallatin."

The negotiation closed, he visited Geneva. Of his feelings on this visit to his birth-place, he left only one allusion. He said that as he approached Geneva, "calm as his nature was, his calmness deserted him." On his way to England in April he learned that he had been appointed Minister to France. This he at first declined, as also an offer of John Jacob Astor to receive him as a partner in his commercial house, then having a capital of near a million, with a fifth interest. The next year, however, warmly pressed by Mr. Monroe, he accepted the French mission. At Paris he was in his element, and enjoyed the opportunities for the development of faculties of still another order. Never was America more ably, more fitly, more honorably represented than by Gallatin. He remained at Paris as Minister until 1823, during which period he was twice deputed on special missions; first to the Netherlands in 1817, next to Great Britain in 1818.

In 1827, the health of Rufus King, who had been appointed Minister to England, failing, Mr. Adams, his old associate in the Ghent Treaty, being President, summoned Mr. Gallatin to Washington, confided to him the important negotiations then pending, and appointed him Minister to the Court of St. James. The complications were of the most delicate character, including the northern boundaries on the eastern and western extremes. In August conventions were signed, continuing the commercial convention of 1815, and the joint occupation of the disputed Oregon territory, and on the 29th September a new convention signed, referring the disputed Maine boundary to a friendly sovereign. Here again, with epic completeness, his diplomatic career ended. Mr. Adams does him no more than justice when he says that "in that career he stood first among the men of his time." Here, too, his public life ended. The election of 1828 had swept from the stage the great Republican party, which he helped to found. He turned without a sigh, unless of relief, to other more congenial fields.

The last chapter, entitled "Age," which covers the period of the retirement of Mr. Gallatin from politics to his death in 1849, Mr. Adams is little more than a succinct summary. The remark of Mr. Adams that had Gallatin been entering life at the time of his retirement from pub-

lic station, he would have "found himself drawn by temperament, by cast of mind and education into science, or business, or literature." The leaning of his mind, however, was strongly towards what the French term "haute finance," as distinguished from mere banking. In 1830 the question of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States again drew him to the front. Mr. Gallatin was a firm believer in the French system, of the admirable nature of which we have had recent brilliant example. He believed in a bi-metallic currency, and "a restriction of notes to one hundred dollars," to be issued by the Bank of the United States. In December, 1830, his "Considerations on the Currency and Banking System" appeared, and again the next year in a separate form. To our day this admirable paper remains the text work on the whole subject of which it treats, and an infallible test of all systems of finance. In 1829 the National, afterwards the Gallatin Bank was established under a charter of the State of New York, Mr. Astor subscribing the capital, and Mr. Gallatin taking the direction as President. Here he had an opportunity of practicing his theories. Business banking is a very different thing from government banking, though the general laws that govern the relations of capital, deposits and discount are the same. In the management of this bank his prudence and sagacity were conspicuous, and his influence upon the minds of bank directors was felt throughout the country.

On the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States in 1836, that institution secured a new charter from the State of Pennsylvania. Bad management, a departure from the fixed laws which govern this science soon destroyed its prestige, and brought it to the verge of insolvency. From the time that it was seen that the bank charter would not be renewed, there was a wild race all over the land in the establishment of banks. The country went mad in speculation, under the stimulus of an expanded currency and the improvident loans of the banks. The revulsion was quick and terrible. In May, 1837, the banks of New York suspended specie payment, and all other banks instantly followed. In the movements for resumption, Mr. Gallatin took the lead. A convention was called in October. The party of opposition, led by Mr. Biddle of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, backed by the Boston and Baltimore banks, was too powerful to be overruled. The Convention adjourned to meet in April, 1838. Nothing daunted, and relying upon their own power and credit, the New York banks announced their intention to resume, and did resume independently in May. New England reluctantly followed. A struggle came between the solvents and insolvents; the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, rotten to the core,

fell in utter ruin in October, but resumption was maintained. It was in reference to this experience that Mr. Gallatin used the memorable words, that "the agonies of resumption were more terrible than those of suspension." For bankruptcy there is no cure save in the Cæsarean operation. In 1839 he resigned the Presidency of the National Bank, and withdrew from all business. In 1841 he published a supplement to his "Consideration of the Currency."

His contributions to geography and ethnology have in the biography brief notice. His last public speech was in accord with his career. In the face of bitter opposition and violent abuse, while in his eighty-fourth year, he presided over the great meeting held in New York in 1844 in opposition to the annexation of Texas—an instance of moral, mental and physical courage which has been rarely equalled, never surpassed. Of the conduct of the United States towards Mexico in this controversy, Mr. Gallatin on one occasion said "that it was the only blot on the American escutcheon."

In the execution of his arduous task, Mr. Adams deserves the highest praise. He rises above partisanship to the true plane of impartial history. Throughout he subordinates himself to his subject. It is not what he thinks of Mr. Gallatin that he tells us, but what Mr. Gallatin was. From the beginning to the close, the profound respect in which he holds his subject is evident, while the restraint he puts upon the expression of his admiration is no less apparent. The field is too wide to admit of general disquisition. The mere recital of the incidents of the fullest intellectual life of the century called for every inch of space in the compact volume. Elaboration was impossible, but the student who turns these pages, as each who would know the history of the first half of this century must inevitably do, will find that half his labor is saved by the broad divisions and skillful arrangement of the subject. The representative of Mr. Gallatin was wise in the selection of his editor. It was in the fitness of things that a grandson of John Quincy Adams, the able co-adjutor of Mr. Gallatin in the famous negotiation of Ghent, should have been entrusted with the preparation of these memoirs. The book will stand as the authoritative record of a life second in usefulness to none in his generation.

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LIFE AND TIMES OF STEIN; OR, GERMANY AND PRUSSIA IN THE NAPOLEONIC AGE. By J. R. SEELEY. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 546—568. ROBERTS BROTHERS. Boston, 1879.

To Bismarck Germany looks as the Jews of

old to Moses, as the providential leader who led them from the land of bondage. He stands as the impersonation of United Germany, the avenger, as well as the saviour of the nation; but Bismarck after all was not possible but for Stein. The "imperial baron" it was who reconstructed Prussia, and remodelled the institutions of the Spartan State, so as to draw from her resources the greatest possible force for the day of contest, the hour when the crushing disaster of Jena, the terrible humiliation of the house of the great Frederic, and the utter prostration of Prussia beneath the grinding and contemptuous heel of Napoleon should be completely avenged.

Mr. Seeley, who is Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, England, has found a theme and a central figure worthy of the ablest pen. The great work of Pertz, completed in 1854, has been the chief authority on the life of Stein, but numerous authorities have since appeared, of which ample use has been made in these volumes.

The first volume, 1757—1809, is divided into five parts, severally entitled: I. Before the Catastrophe; II. The Catastrophe; III. Ministry of Stein—First period; IV. Ministry of Stein—Transition; V. Ministry of Stein—Conclusion.

Vom Stein, a descendant of one of the robber knights who took toll, from friend and foe alike, from the passers of the Rhine, was born near the little town of Nassau in 1757. His turbulent ancestors had lived at the Burg-Stein, a fastness on the side of the hill, which is crowned by the Schloss Nassau. He came into the world in the midst of the stormy convulsion of the Thirty Years' War. Ten days later the battle of Rosbach was fought, in which Frederic II. annihilated the French army in one of the most terrible defeats in history. He inherited one of the petty sovereignties, which Napoleon swept away in his radical reform of the Rhine region, and belonged to the order of Reichsritterschaft, or Imperial Knighthood. The Duke of Nassau threatened to annex his little dominion, but now in its turn, as in the fable, the petty sovereignty of Nassau has been swallowed up by its larger and more powerful neighbor, Prussia. Whether Prussia is to digest other great States of Germany, or whether she is herself to lose her own autonomy in the attempt, is a subject of speculation, but not of historic inquiry.

The Imperial knights, however, did not fulfill the conditions of high nobility, which was confined to the descendants of those who had both sovereignty and a place on the Diet before 1806. Stein stood in the position most favorable for a public leader; half-way between the nobility and the people. The studies of young Stein were of a practical nature. Without caring for the specula-

tive inquiry of the age, he paid studious attention to English politics, statistics and details of government, from which he drew valuable lessons for his later reconstruction of the Prussian kingdom. All Germans are hero worshippers, and Stein was no exception to the rule. "Frederic the Unique" won his heart by the rescue of Bavaria, and with him he took service, notwithstanding the claims of the Austrian Emperor upon him as an Imperial Knight, and to Prussia, as the hope of German unity, he remained steadfast. His friend Von Heinitz, the oldest of Frederick's officials, was his mentor and pushed him forward in the service; first in the Mining Department, and in 1789 to one of the War and Domain Chambers. In 1804 he entered the Ministry of State as Minister of Trade.

It was the catastrophe of Jena in 1806, however, which called into active play Stein's remarkable powers of organization. His letters during the war are full of vigor and political insight. He was soon acknowledged by common consent to be the first statesman in Germany, "the hope of the State." The King tendered him the portfolio of Minister of State and Cabinet, but Stein refused. He would have nothing to do with the administration with persons whom he distrusted, or without full power to make the reforms he desired. His correspondence with the King, his abuse by the sovereign, and his last and almost impertinent reply, are curious specimens of German temper and the intemperant spirit of the upper classes. Stein was dismissed in 1807. The peace of Tilsitt dismembered Prussia, and divided Europe between Alexander and Napoleon. Stein was affected to illness when he heard of it. It needed an overwhelming disaster like this to induce him once more to take the control of affairs, but this time with supreme dictatorial powers. The Hohenzollerns have always known how to sacrifice their personality, even their pride, to their ambition. And Stein became the *Eckstein*, the corner-stone, of the Prussian monarchy, of German independence. The rest of the volume is devoted to the account of the sweeping reforms he introduced, not only into the administration, but the entire system of government, civil and military—from the emancipating edict, with land reform, to the completion of the wonderful reform which Scharnhorst commenced, and which has determined the fate of the nineteenth century. This reform abolished the conscription of Frederick the Great, and introduced in its place that of universal service. In these, as in the legislative reforms which followed them, the principles of the French revolution were practically adopted—the principles of equality before the law.

The second volume is in four parts. VI.

Stein in Exile; VII. Return from Exile; VIII. Stein at the Congress; IX. Old Age. Resigning his post as Minister, because, perhaps, the King would not commit himself to his policy, and make common cause with Austria, he was now in a comparatively unobserved position, organizing the elements of hostility to France. But the eagle eye of Napoleon, which, sweeping the entire range of the horizon, yet observing every detail, had long been fixed upon the dangerous work of Stein. By an imperial decree, Napoleon at the close of 1808, confiscated his property, and proscribed his person. Here were ruin and danger, sudden as the fall of a thunderbolt. Stein stooped his proud spirit to ask the intercession of the Czar, and fled into Bohemia. In 1809 the result of his teachings was seen in the first German rising, but it was not till after the Russian campaign of 1812 that the patriotic exile felt any security, or could believe in the possibility of the fall of Napoleon.

Here we must leave the volume, noticing only the curious fact, that in the repartitions of Europe by the Congress of 1815, Stein preached the restoration to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. As was observed, Bismarck completed Stein. On the 29th June, 1831, the founder of the modern German nation died, an event almost unnoticed by his ungrateful countrymen.

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE STORMING OF STONY POINT

The recent centennial celebration of the Storming of Stony Point has brought to light many new and important facts connected with this, one of the most brilliant achievements of the revolution. The Historical Society of Rockland County will shortly publish a work which will form the fullest and most accurate account of this event. It will include several original extracts from letters of Washington hitherto unpublished, from the papers of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Germain, the latter containing the expression of the King's opinion concerning the capture; letters from Generals Heath, St. Clair, George Clinton, McDougal and others; returns and orders showing the organization of Wayne's corps of Light Infantry, together with biographical sketches of participants in the action.

This volume will be edited by Mr. H. P. Johnston, who is well known to historians as the author of *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*. The work will be published by subscription. Persons interested can address Mr. Henry Whittemore, Secretary of the Historical Society of Rockland County, Tappan, New York State.

EDITOR.



THE SEVENTY-SIX STONE HOUSE ANDRÉ PRIMON TAIWAN, N. Y.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S HISTORY

Vol. III

ONE

fun to read. The book is a history of the American South from the time of the Civil War to the present. It is a history of the South as it is, not as it should be. It is a history of the South as it is, not as it should be. It is a history of the South as it is, not as it should be.

Colonel J. J. F.

"W. K.

"A. K.

Lt. Col. H. S.

Captain C. G.

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Lt. Col. H. S.

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A little more



MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 12

THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

ONE of our great American poets, looking over a famous battle-field of our country, has said :

" We needs must think of history that waits
For lines that live but in their proud beginning ;
Arrested promises and cheated fates,
Youth's boundless venture and its single winning.
We see the ghosts of deeds they might have done,
The phantom homes that beacons their endeavor ;
We grudge the better strain of men
That proved itself and was extinguished then,
The field, with strength and hope so thickly sown,
Wherefrom no other harvest shall be mown."

These lines vibrated through my mind like the muffled tones of a funeral march as I stood in the military chapel at West Point, and looking towards the eastern wall, read on its marble memorial tablet this inscription :

BUENA VISTA, FEBRUARY 22D-23D, 1847.

Colonel J. J. HARDIN

" W. R. MCKEE

" ARCHIBALD YELL

Lt. Col. HENRY CLAY, JR.

Captain GEORGE LINCOLN

" J. B. ZABRISKIE

" WM. WOODWARD

" W. T. WILLIS

" A. R. PORTER

" T. B. KINDER

" W. WALKER

" J. TAGGART

Lieut. B. R. HOUGHTON

" A. B. ROUNTREE

Lieut. E. F. FLETCHER

" R. FERGUSON

" L. ROBBINS

" T. KELLY

" J. C. STEEL

" J. BARTLESON

" A. ATHERTON

" WM. PRICE

" FRAN. McNULTY

" R. L. MOORE

" D. CAMPBELL

" J. A. LEONHARD

" THOMAS C. PARR

" E. M. VAUGHN

A little army of four thousand six hundred and ninety-one men marched

to this battle-field; of these, two hundred and thirty-nine men and twenty-eight officers were killed, many of them murdered in their wounds. They lay on the battle-ground dead, robbed, stripped of their clothing, yet on a victorious field, from which, with their wounded or exhausted comrades, they had driven twenty thousand men, the élite of the Mexican army, many of them veterans, who had fought in the war of independence against Spain, and had seen constant service in the civil wars that followed.

These simple facts were pregnant of great events. In them were embodied the issue of the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of an empire, as empire represents land, wealth and power; the downfall of Santa Anna, sometimes called the Napoleon of the West; the continuance of the regular army of the United States, then more seriously threatened with extinction by the politicians that at any time since; the election of a President of the United States; and the germ of a great civil war—for all of these things developed as a natural outgrowth or a direct result of the momentous victory in the pass of Angostura, before the plain of Buena Vista. The brilliant achievements of General Scott, which we involuntarily compare with the progress of Cortez over the same ground, were but a blossoming of the hardy plant which General Taylor had set in the soil of Northern Mexico, and which had been watered with the blood of that mere handful of heroes with which he was left to meet the concentrated forces of the enemy.

The time is short, by years, since our army marched into Mexico—but what a change in the spirit of the people! Not for the worse, perhaps, but still a great change, such as separates eager, chivalrous, self sacrificing youth from more prudent and calculating manhood. Late in the spring of 1846 there was a call for volunteers for the war with Mexico. The noblest and choicest spirits in the land sprang quick to arms. There had been bitter strife in regard to the war. In stump speeches, on the floor of Congress, in the political caucus; everywhere the war of words ran high. Personal ambition, fanatical abolitionism and imperious pro-slaveryism had aroused the passions of the people for or against the war. But above the clamor and invective of partizans at last was heard the announcement of these irrevocable facts: *Texas is annexed*; Taylor has advanced to protect her frontier; the Mexicans have crossed the Rio Grande; Colonel Cross has been killed; Captain Porter's little band, in search of him, has been defeated and dispersed. Thornton's squadron of dragoons has been captured after a desperate struggle.

In 1846 men did not read so calmly and indifferently as now of the capture and slaughter of the gallant officers of our regular army; trained, accomplished, high-principled gentlemen, whose moral, intellectual and social qualities are an honor to our country. Political feuds were at once forgotten; there was only generous rivalry as to who should be permitted to go. Thousands offered their services who were not accepted. The call was made by the President, in the beginning, on the Southern and Western States as being nearer the scene of the conflict. There, where there had been the hottest political contest with the cries of Clay and peace as opposed to Polk, annexation and war, peace men were now found raising regiments, and entering with enthusiasm into the plans of the administration. When these plans were a matter of deliberation and argument, they were opposed mainly on two grounds. First, that Texas being still claimed as a province by Mexico, her annexation would necessarily involve us in a war with that nation without adequate cause. The other and more urgent cause of opposition was a desire to check the extension of slavery.

The Texas question was foreseen even then by thoughtful statesmen to be an entering wedge which might ultimately cleave the Union. An extract from a private letter of Colonel John J. Hardin, whose name heads the list of slain at the battle of Buena Vista, written to a friend while he was a member of Congress from Illinois (he was a whig, and opposed to annexation), will give an insight into the state of political feeling on this subject. It is dated Washington, January 26th, 1845, and says: "Last night the democrats passed the Texas project through our house. At the commencement of the session it could not have passed. But I have been convinced for some days that the scheme which was adopted would be passed. Every loco-foco from the North, with only two or three exceptions, who was not re-elected, or who was satisfied he would not be, voted for it. Every office seeker was entreating his friends to go for it, and every member of Congress who wants an office voted for it. For it is understood and proclaimed that those who will not go for Texas, as the South wants it, could obtain no office from Mr. Polk. It is said by some of the Senators that it will not pass that body. Although I cannot count enough to pass it, yet I feel satisfied that enough will be hunted up to go for it, and thus get it through. No one supposed the vote in our house would be so large, and indeed no vote was estimated to pass the Bill by a fair count, but when it was about to pass a number voted for it.

So in the Senate, I think, they will find men to change their vote to pass it, if necessary. We have been so engrossed with Texas that we have no other news whatever. You will see that the project which was adopted was proposed by a Tennessee whig, Milton Brown. He is one of my messmates; he avowed at all times that he went for it purely as a Southern slavery question; that he drew up his proposition, and proposed it, for the express purpose of preventing any misunderstanding on the subject of slavery, and determined to make the North swallow it if they would have Texas; and if they were satisfied to give the South Texas on these terms, he was willing to take it. Only eight whigs voted for it, and they were not enough to defeat it, if they had all voted against it."

This hint of congressional proceedings, and of the changing of votes gives point to Hosea Biglow's assertion that

"A marcfiful Providence fashioned us holler
O' purpose that we might our principles swaller;
Besides, there's a wonderful power in latitude
To shift a man's morril relations an' attitude;
Some flossifers think thet a fakkilty's granted
The minnit its proved to be thoroughly wanted;
So, wen one's chose to Congress, ez soon ez he's in it,
A collar grows right round his neck in a minnit;
For a coat, that sets wal here in old Massachusetts,
Wen it gits on to Washington, somehow askew sets."

And also to what he says of the people, who

"Think they're a kind o' fulfillin' the prophecies,
Wen they're on'y jest changin' the holders of offices;
(An' fer Democrat Horners there's good plums left yet.)
To the people they're ollers ez slick ez molasses,
An' butter their bread on both sides with The Masses,
Half o' whom they've persuaded, by way of a joke,
Thet Washington's mantelpiece fell upon Polk."

But the fun and satire, as well as the animosity of political discussions, were unheeded, or silenced upon the President's demand for volunteers. On the 30th of May, 1846, General Wool, then Adjutant-General to the army, was ordered to repair to Cincinnati and muster into service twelve thousand volunteers from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Mississippi. This business was dispatched with thoroughness and rapidity, and on the 11th of July General Wool was ordered to turn over his command in the States to General Butler, and to concen-

trate a part of the force, now ready to move, at San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas. From this place General Wool was to lead an expedition against the city of Chihuahua in the interior of Northern Mexico. General Butler soon after embarked with a larger portion of the volunteers to join General Taylor on the Rio Grande. General Wool proceeded to Alton, Illinois, the place of rendezvous of the First and Second Illinois Regiments, commanded by Colonels Hardin and Bissell. Finding them in a satisfactory state of preparation for his expedition, he went to New Orleans, and thence to Lavaca and San Antonio. The Illinois regiments soon followed. They embarked at Alton for New Orleans. Though but a child, I remember well that bright summer day, made brilliant by the continuous strains of martial music, the dress parades of the regiments, the enthusiastic cheers of the thousands of people who had come to witness their departure. The tears of parting were suppressed, the forebodings of danger were silenced by the brightness, the glitter of the scene, and the hopefulness of the soldiers who soon crowded the broad decks of the great white steamer. It seemed to my young eyes to be bearing them away to some unreal world. Alas, the incoming steamer that brought the shattered regiments home was not crowded!

From New Orleans they went by steamer to Lavaca, and from this place on the 11th of August was begun the famous march of the Army of the Centre, as General Wool's command was called. General Taylor's army, then in the field, was the Army of Occupation, and the troops of General Kearney's expedition comprised the Army of the West. General Scott had not yet arrived in Mexico.

On the 5th of April, 1846, General Taylor, having marched from Corpus Christi with the whole force of regulars at his disposal, numbering three thousand five hundred and ninety-three, established himself on the east bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. Here he erected a fort. His stores had been forwarded from New Orleans, by sea, to Point Isabel. On the 30th of April, two companies were left to garrison the fort, and Taylor, with the remainder of his army, marched to Point Isabel to bring up his supplies. In the meantime, a large force of Mexicans had been gathered at Matamoras under General Ampudia. While the main army of General Taylor was on its march from Point Isabel with its train of ammunition and supplies, it encountered the whole force of the Mexicans, six thousand strong, which had been brought out to intercept its return. Here was fought the battle of Palo Alto, in which Taylor was victorious, with a loss of only nine killed

and forty-five wounded, while the loss of the enemy was over three hundred.

The night following this action the Mexicans retreated, and took a strong position at Resaca de la Palma. They were reinforced by two thousand fresh troops, and here, the next day, another fiercely contested battle took place, in which the rout of the Mexicans was complete. The losses on both sides were heavier than on the previous day; that of the Mexicans exceeding five hundred. A few days later, Arista vacated Matamoras, and destroyed or concealed his guns. General Taylor took possession of the city; the first campaign of the war was at an end, and the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was secured.

During the following weeks the smaller towns above Matamoras, on the river, were occupied without opposition. Early in August General Taylor moved his headquarters to Carmargo, which was to be his depot of supplies during the anticipated operation on Monterey, one of the strongest fortified posts in Mexico.

While these movements were in progress on land, the Mexican ports had been blockaded by ships of the United States Navy. During the month of August, Santa Anna, an exile from Mexico, had been permitted, by order of the government at Washington, to run the blockade at Vera Cruz. This questionable act of the administration was thought, at that time, to have been prompted by a belief in Santa Anna's desire to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the United States. It is now affirmed that the government at Washington had revealed to it at that time a plot between the emissaries of European governments and the authorities in Mexico, for the establishment of a monarchy in the latter country, under the protection of the foreign powers, and that Santa Anna was permitted to enter the port of Vera Cruz to ensure the overthrow of this conspiracy.

Santa Anna approached the City of Mexico, surrounded by his friends and followers, early in September, and was tendered the supreme power. He adroitly declined "the place of power for the post of danger." Upon this announcement the Mexican government ordered a levy of thirty thousand men, to rendezvous at the capital or at San Luis Potosi within seventy days. Santa Anna ordered Ampudia, then in command of the northern army, to evacuate Monterey, unless sure of a successful resistance, and to fall back on San Luis Potosi, where he would establish his headquarters. Ampudia, confident of success, and anxious to win the *éclat* of a victory, used his discretionary power to resist the

American occupation. This resulted in the storming of Monterey by Taylor's army, where

"On, still on, our column kept,
Through walls of flame, its withering way;
Where fell the dead, the living stept,
Still charging on the guns that swept
The slippery streets of Monterey.

"The foe himself recoiled aghast,
When, striking where he strongest lay,
We swooped his flanking batteries past,
And, braving full their murderous blast,
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

"Our banners on those turrets wave,
And there our evening bugles play;
Where orange boughs above their grave,
Keep green the memory of the brave,
Who fought and fell at Monterey."

Thus with continued success had General Taylor pressed on to a new base of operations, though with severe losses. The occupation of Monterey had been accomplished only after a determined resistance, and with the loss of twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed, and over three hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was one thousand or more. By the terms of the capitulation signed on the 24th of September, Taylor had agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, in consequence of the representation made by Ampudia, that peace commissioners had been appointed by his government to negotiate a treaty with the United States.

We will now return to the Army of the Centre at San Antonio. General Wool had made extensive and careful preparation for the expedition committed to his command by the authorities at Washington. He was impatient to advance, but found it difficult to obtain reliable information concerning the routes practicable for a march of one thousand miles, to be traversed before he could reach Chihuahua.

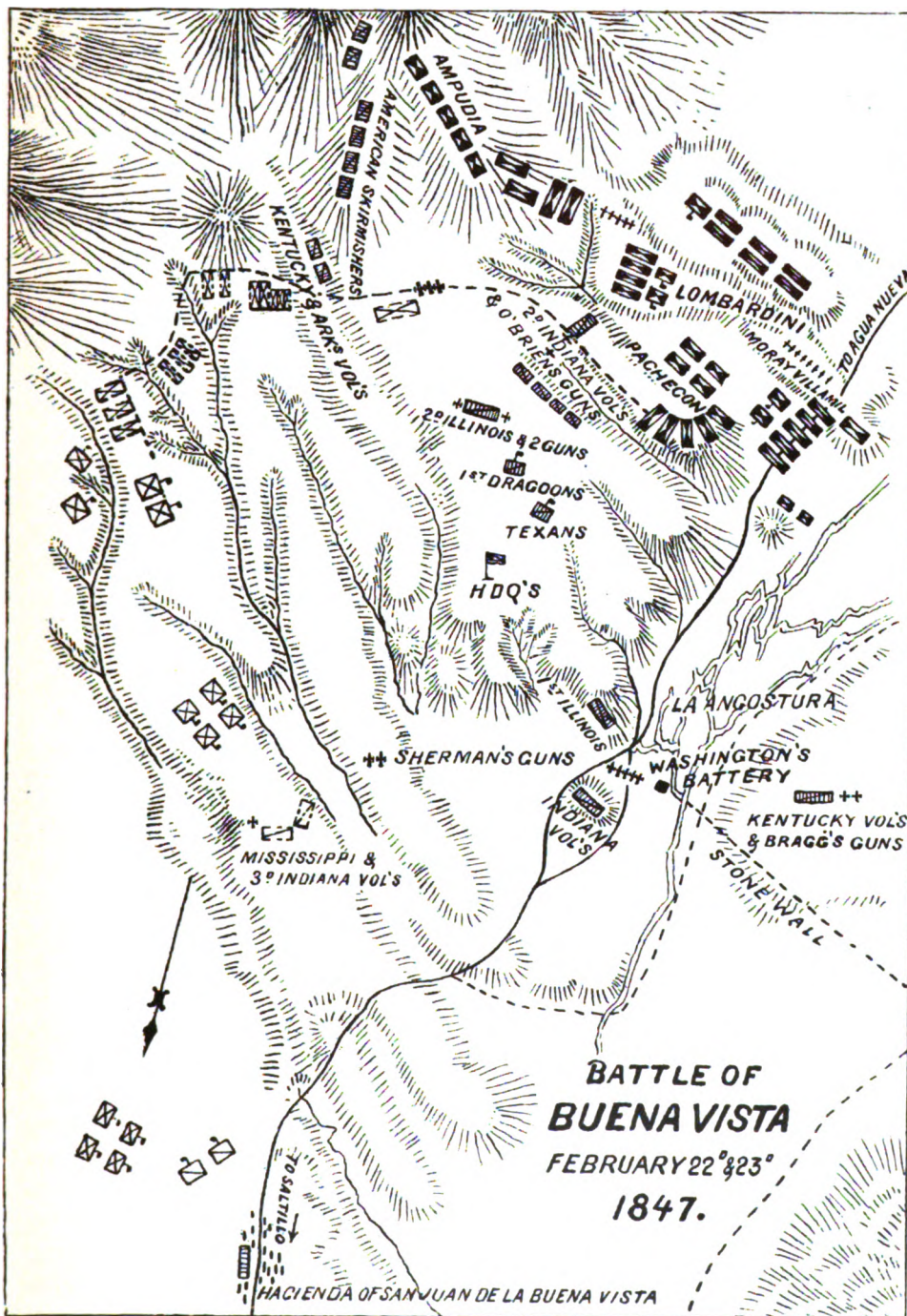
In September, General Wool left San Antonio with his advance column; the Illinois regiments, with Colonel Churchill, of the regular service, followed some days later, and the whole command reached Parras in the latter part of November, when General Wool received dispatches from General Taylor, informing him that the expedition to Chihuahua, according to advices from Washington, would be abandoned. General Taylor and General Wool acquiesced in the propriety of this advice, as

Chihuahua was still about four hundred miles distant, the intervening country sparsely inhabited, and the city itself a place of little importance.

This expensive expedition and laborious march was thus closed without benefit to the American cause, for these troops, with their supplies, might have joined General Taylor's army by the shorter and more convenient route chosen for the volunteers under General Butler. No stronger example can be found of entire devotion to the government, and self-sacrificing determination to do the best that could be done from day to day, with an inadequate force and undefined plans, than is seen in the course now pursued by General Taylor. Forced to create a base of supplies in the enemy's country, receiving vague, often contradictory instructions from Washington, and separated by weeks of time from even these unsatisfactory orders, he still pressed heroically forward; feeling his way, and planting himself, step by step, more firmly on the soil of the enemy's country.

Now, in the last weeks of the year, having been reinforced by General Butler, and later by General Wool's division, he was for the first time in a position to form plans and fix upon a definite object, but he was still hampered by instructions from Washington. In a letter to Colonel Hardin, dated, "Headquarters Army of Occupation or Invasion, Monterey, Mexico, November 28th, 1846," after speaking of the efficiency of the First Illinois Regiment, he adds, "By the last despatches from Washington I am directed to hold on to what we have acquired in the northern part of Mexico, but for the present not to proceed farther; I have, in consequence of said instructions, ordered General Wool, with his column, to occupy Parras, and General Worth, with a command, Saltillo, which may be considered the advanced posts of our army, and which the Mexican General, if he determines to act on the offensive, might operate against, in which case these commands might be united so as to resist successfully, until reinforced from here, where I propose keeping a respectable force for that object, and in the event of orders to push farther on, you would be in a position to be brought together or joined by other troops to act against San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas or Durango."

General Taylor's plans were suddenly destroyed; for, unexpectedly, in the face of the enemy, his army had been reduced to a fragment; not by the foe, but by a friend, his superior officer, acting under orders from the government. General Scott's misunderstanding with the administration having been adjusted during the autumn, he sailed in November for Mexico, to conduct an expe-



dition to the City of Mexico, by way of Vera Cruz. A large levy of new troops were sent out from the United States to meet him, and he was permitted to make a requisition on General Taylor for such of his troops as he required for the success of his enterprise. He had accordingly sent dispatches from New Orleans both to General Taylor and to General Butler, second in command, ordering them to forward immediately to Brazas Santiago, the whole of the regular force at their disposal, except a few companies of dragoons and of artillery. Taylor removed his headquarters to Agua Nueva, and concentrated at that place his depleted army.

The dispatches of General Scott to General Taylor, in which he made his requisition for these troops, fell into the hands of Santa Anna, through the capture and murder of their bearer, Lieutenant Richy, and his escort. It will be seen at once how the wary Santa Anna, who had been cautiously watching for a favorable opportunity to strike a meditated blow, would avail himself of this happy chance. He could have wished for no better opportunity. Scott, with his army scarcely organized, sailing towards the celebrated stronghold, San Juan D'Ulloa, which must hold him in check if it did not paralyze his advance; Taylor, stripped of his regulars, and with but a small force of raw troops. He, on the contrary, with thirty thousand men, veterans or new levies, which had been several months under discipline, and were commanded by many efficient Generals, leading men of military repute in the republic; and all under the constant stimulus of exciting harangues against the invaders of the sacred soil of Mexico; he remembered how a similar piece of strategy had secured him a great triumph in 1829, and actually terminated the war with Spain. Now one decisive blow, and Taylor would be annihilated, when he would have ample time to turn his attention to Scott, and wrest from him any advantage he had gained in his advance on the City of Mexico. Taylor had indeed been victorious on the Rio Grande, but Santa Anna was not there; mistakes had been made; the army had been used in detachments; the feelings of the versatile Mexican had not been sufficiently aroused; the soldiers of such a people, skillfully managed, could perform great deeds; they had proved it in the past. Concentration, rapidity of action, enthusiasm, discipline! these would be the instruments of his success. Such were the thoughts and plans that filled the mind of Santa Anna, and he had cause for his elation. Carefully and skillfully he drew up his orders for the advance of his whole army from San Luis Potosi, to precipitate it upon the little command of General Taylor.

And what of the American General; with what spirit did Taylor await the wily Mexicans? Did sanguine anticipations of success elate his mind, and stir his suppressed but active sensibilities? Unimpressionable, practical and resolute, he indulged in few sentiments; but now a painful sense of injury, and an unusual anxiety lay behind the invincible determination which, like the armor of the ancient knight, clothed the spirit of this modern Saxon. Why had the government stripped him of so large a portion of his command while the enemy, in force, lay before him? What possible exigency could necessitate the withdrawal of the whole force of veterans who had stood by him at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey? The Mexicans, although defeated, had fought obstinately and well at these places; the same veteran troops were now in the enemy's camp, and were reinforced by hosts of others. Were his faithful services not only to be ignored, but their reward to be bestowed on another, while he was left single-handed to contend with his powerful and watchful foe? Yet while pained by such thoughts he declares that, "he will carry out, in good faith, the views of the government, though he be sacrificed in the effort." Still he pondered long and anxiously, if not despondently, on the chances against him; and they were great. Santa Anna, whom he was to meet for the first time, had a world-wide fame for courage and for strategy; he was supported by Ampudia, who had already proved himself determined and crafty, since he had out-matched his victorious and straitforward foe at Monterey, when the terms of capitulation were to be drawn; by Arista, who, with his magnificent physique and strong personal influence, cemented many conflicting elements in the Mexican army; by Lombardini, his second in command, whom he greatly trusted; by Pacheco and Perez; by Mora y Villamil, whose scornful despatch to General Taylor some weeks earlier stung the old soldier into an indignant reply; and Ortega, whose division was to be held like a whip, with which Santa Anna would scourge the defeated Americans from the soil of Mexico, and Miñon, whose cavalry should drive the fugitives back to the lash of Ortega. He had, too, Torrejon, with his brilliant Lancers, the pride of the army. It was, indeed, a fine army: officers and men treading their own soil, inspired by sentiments of patriotism and religion, while their confidence in the skill and courage of their leader, Santa Anna, gave stability to their enthusiasm.

The little army awaiting them may be viewed at a glance. The Commander-in-Chief, resolute to obstinacy, careless of life in the heat of action, both for himself and his soldiers, yet tender hearted and self,

sacrificing; liable to make mistakes, yet cool, ready and invincible in his ability to escape from their effects. Wool, his second in command an experienced soldier, brave, ambitious and sanguine; Lane, an untried Brigadier-General of volunteers; besides these, a few Colonels, Captains and Lieutenants. As events proved, each of these minor officers became in turn a commander, and few Generals of the line could have excelled them in bravery, skill and discretion. Captains Bragg and Sherman and Lieutenant O'Brien, with their batteries, seemed ubiquitous during the whole contest, while Washington, with his few guns, held the left wing of the Mexican army in check from the beginning to the end of the battle. Colonel May's name became a synonym for dashing bravery; General Lane, wounded, but still fighting, led his heroic Indiana men on in a way that redeemed the ignominy their State suffered in one part of the field; Colonel Davis displayed ability that was considered an evidence of military genius; McKee and Clay, in one regiment, were graduates of West Point, and fulfilled the expectations that their training inspired; Colonels Marshall and Yell led their mounted men with great gallantry. Yell had left his seat in Congress for the dangers of the field. Bissell, a former member of Congress, was a man of fine attainments and excellent judgment; he had seconded with alacrity the system of discipline to which Colonel Churchill subjected the Illinois regiments during their long march from San Antonio. Hardin had stimulated the pride and interest with which Churchill regarded these regiments. Hardin's name had been urged at Washington for Brigadier-General of the Illinois volunteers, but his political antecedents prevented such an appointment. He had seen service in the Black Hawk war, and had been General-in-Chief of the Illinois militia for some years, at a time when it was not merely a nominal position. He had made a careful study of the science of military tactics, and the effect of the care bestowed upon the Illinois battalions will be seen when we witness the changing fortunes of this long battle. From nine o'clock on the morning of the 23d, these two Illinois regiments, or rather parts of them, assisted by the Second Kentucky Regiment, received and repelled the masses of the centre column of Santa Anna's army, commanded by himself in person; for seven long hours the contest unceasingly beat, like the waves of the ocean, on the rocky shore of these stout Western hearts, and not a soldier flinched or faltered. When the unfortunate Indiana battalions gave way, Illinois was there to cover the flying columns of her sister State; when the heavy infantry of Lombardini and Pacheco followed

the fugitives with the lusty insolence of victory, Illinois was there, and stood firm until surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of these united divisions. Then she calmly turned her back on the enemy, marched steadily onward, changed front in his very teeth, and received him as firmly as before. Then Kentucky came to the front, and assisted in that long continued struggle on the plateau, while Mississippi and Indiana were performing their brilliant achievements on the left. But we anticipate.

Agua Nueva, the most advanced post of General Taylor's line, where his army was now concentrated, lay on the border of a great desert, destitute of water, which the Mexican army must traverse on its way from San Luis Potosi; for this reason it was considered a desirable point at which to meet its advance, suffering as it must then be from fatigue and want of water.

On the 20th of February General Taylor sent Colonel May with a strong reconnoitring force to ascertain whether the enemy was approaching on his left by way of Hedionda, from which place he might pass on to Encantada in his rear. He also sent Captain McCulloch with a small party of Texan Rangers on the Road to Encarnacion, on the highway from San Luis Potosi, to seek the enemy in that direction. Through these reconnoitering parties, General Taylor learned that Santa Anna was at Encarnacion en route for Agua Nueva, and fearing a flank movement on the part of the enemy that would intercept his base of supplies at Saltillo, he decided to withdraw his army to Buena Vista. On the morning of the 21st, orders were accordingly issued for the evacuation of Agua Nueva and a retreat to Buena Vista. During the day this was accomplished. Colonel Yell, with his mounted men, was left to guard the stores until the last wagon train should leave. There was hurry and confusion among the teamsters in their eagerness to follow the retiring army. All night the work of loading and starting went on. Before daylight the American pickets were driven in by the Mexicans. Then the hacienda and the few remaining stores were fired, and lighted by the brilliant flames of the burning buildings the long train of wagons, loaded and empty, dashed off with furious speed toward Buena Vista. The Arkansas regiment remained until the stores were burned, and then they too galloped hastily after the flying teamsters. This confusion and hurry doubtless impressed the advancing columns of the Mexicans with the belief, upon which Santa Anna acted on the following day, that General Taylor's army was flying before his superior numbers. They were, on the contrary, quietly encamped at Buena Vista,

the whole army resting there, except the Mississippi regiment, Bragg's battery and May's dragoons, which formed the escort to General Taylor, who had hurried on to Saltillo to secure the defence of that city. Colonel Hardin's regiment had also been left at La Angostura, the approach to Buena Vista, with orders to defend it, if attacked, until reinforced, and to commence a line of earthworks in front of their position. At daylight Washington's battery was sent from Buena Vista to support the Illinois regiment, as General Wool received information during the night that Santa Anna's army had reached Agua Nueva.

The hacienda of Buena Vista lies in the picturesque valley of Encantada. This valley, commencing about six miles north of Agua Nueva at Encantada, extends fifteen miles to Saltillo. Buena Vista is six miles south of Saltillo. La Angostura (The Narrow Pass) is one mile and a half south of Buena Vista. The valley is scarcely a mile and a half wide at this point and does not anywhere exceed four miles in width; on either side arise lofty mountains, two or three thousand feet in height. A small stream flows northward on the west side of the valley; the road, which is the great highway from San Luis Potosi to Saltillo, runs along the eastern bank of the stream. The ground on the west side of the stream at La Angostura is cut into deep, intricate gullies, making it impassable for artillery, and even for infantry. The ground between the stream and the mountain on the east is elevated sixty or seventy feet above the road and is cut up in deep and wide ravines and narrow gorges. The plateaus between these ravines slope gradually upward to the base of the precipitous mountain. A high tongue of land on the east side of the Pass forms a part of the plateau upon which the American army was posted on the 22d and 23d. This plateau is indented from the road by three gorges, setting deeply in toward the base of the mountain; it is fronted on the south by a broad ravine, beyond which rises a mountain, overlooking the plateau from the south, and thus forms an angle with the mountains on the east; in the rear of the plateau is a long ravine, extending quite to the mountain. It was a battle-field with striking features. Santa Anna afterward called it a Thermopylæ. It was a strong position, but with one weak side, which Santa Anna was quick to see, and during the engagement the mountain heights, the gorges of the plateau, and the ravines in the front and rear, were used as often with advantage to the enemy as to the Americans.

Before leaving San Luis Potosi, Santa Anna issued a proclamation to his army, containing these sentences: "Companions in arms! the operations of the enemy require us to move more precipitately on their line,

and we are about to do it. To-day you commence your march through a thinly settled country, without supplies and without provisions. Be assured that very quickly you will be in possession of those of your enemy, and of his riches; with them all your wants will be abundantly supplied. The cause we sustain is holy; we are defending the homes of our forefathers and of our posterity, our honor, our holy religion, our wives, our children. Let our motto be to conquer or to die. Let us swear before the Eternal that we will not rest until we completely wipe away from our soil the vain-glorious foreigner who has dared to pollute it with his presence. No terms with him. Nothing for us but heroism and grandeur." In his order of march he says: "The Commander-in-Chief commands, that the baggage shall not be carried with the army, nor shall the soldiers take their knapsacks; they shall carry nothing but their cooking utensils. All officers and other persons shall march in their places, and when bivouacking, shall keep at the head of their respective commands."

Under these orders the army marched to Encarnacion; upon arriving there, Santa Anna's orders were still more rigid and explicit. From this place to Agua Nueva, where he expected to surprise Taylor, the road lay over a dreary waste, thirty-five miles in length, and destitute of water; and here his orders state, "that the different corps shall to-day (the 20th of February) receive from the commissary three days' rations; and that they require the necessary meat this afternoon for the first meal to-morrow, which the troops are directed to eat one hour before taking up the line of march; and the second will be taken in their haversacks, to be eaten in the night wherever they may halt. There will be no fires permitted, neither will signal be made by any military instrument of music, the movement at early daybreak on the morning of the 22d having to be made in the most profound silence. The troops will drink all the water they can before marching, and will take with them all they can possibly carry; they will economize the water all they can, for we shall encamp without water, and shall not arrive at it until the following day. The chiefs of corps will pay *much, much, much* attention to this last instruction."

It will be seen from these orders how certainly Santa Anna calculated upon surprising Taylor, and how carefully he considered the difficulties in his way. His army marched in the following order: The advance column, under Ampudia, was composed of four battalions of light infantry, a brigade of artillery, 16-pounders, and a regiment of engineers. His centre division, which followed, comprised the columns

of heavy infantry under Lombardini and Pacheco, with 12-pounders and 8-pounders and their park. The rear division was made up of the remaining artillery and the cavalry under Ortega, and a rear guard of Lancers under Andrade.

Thus, with all the reckless gayety and ardent enthusiasm of this great army hushed to silence, the long line of artillery, infantry and cavalry crept like an immense serpent of the tropical regions along the cactus-lined road of the dreary plain, making its stealthy way towards its intended victim. Halting at the Pass of Carnero, near Agua Nueva, it stretched forth its head through the mountain gap, like a veritable reptile, to sting ere it wrapped its coils around the object of its attack. The light infantry pushed on to Agua Nueva, and it was this advance that had driven in the American pickets.

Santa Anna believed the American army in flight, and, therefore, gave his already exhausted troops no time for rest or refreshment; only permitting them to drink and fill their canteens at Agua Nueva, he placed his cavalry in advance, and pushed rapidly forward. On the morning of the 22d, the Mexican cavalry came in sight of the Illinois regiment, strongly posted behind entrenchments on the high ground east of La Angostura, and, galloping on the road over the last elevation in their rear, they saw Washington's battery coming rapidly up. This was the first intimation the Mexicans had that their progress would be resisted. The squadrons of cavalry wheeled, drew out of the range of Washington's guns, and awaited the arrival of the Mexican artillery and infantry.

It is eight o'clock on the morning of the 22d of February, Washington's birthday. In the American camp at the hacienda of Buena Vista, since daybreak, there has been a scene of activity and hilarity. It might be supposed that soldiers and officers were preparing for a holiday parade, so exuberant are their spirits and so merry their jests. A few watchful ones, looking off from the broad plain of Buena Vista, and through the beautiful valley towards Encantada, see long drifting clouds of dust rising over the road beyond the pass. It is the enemy. Suddenly the "long roll" calls, To Arms!

Serious eagerness and suppressed impatience now supplant the joyousness of the earlier hours. Quickly the battalions are formed; the riflemen are in saddle; the flying artillery is in motion. Every band of music throws out on the fresh morning air the tones of the national hymn, Hail Columbia! Every flag flutters free above the firm hands of the standard bearers. The battle cry is passed from line to line. It is

"The memory of Washington." Cheer after cheer peals through the valley and floats among the mountain tops. In vehement hurrah the soldier gives inarticulate expression to his love of country and of home, his devotion to a high ideal of firmness and courage in the person of Washington, and to the fierce passion with which he regards the foe that he goes forth to meet. The infantry, artillery and cavalry now fall into column, and preceded by strains of inspiring music, march to the battle-field.

General Taylor, with his escort, has not returned from Saltillo. It devolves upon General Wool to assign the positions on the field. Washington's battery is placed on the road in the defile La Angostura, with two companies of the First Illinois Regiment; an epaulment is thrown up in their front, from the foot of the high ground and across the road to the perpendicular bank of the stream. Six companies of the First Illinois, Colonel Hardin commanding, are on the height above the defile. This is the key of the position. Slightly in the rear of Washington's battery, on an eminence, at the base of which the road divides, is stationed Colonel McKee's Second Kentucky Regiment. On the left of Hardin's regiment on the plateau, and near the head of the second gorge, is the Second Illinois (Colonel Bissell's) Regiment, and on its right, and somewhat in the rear, a company of dragoons and one of mounted Texans. Colonel Yell's mounted Arkansas men, two companies of Indiana riflemen and Colonel Marshall's mounted Kentuckians are on the extreme left, at the base of the mountain. The remaining troops, consisting of General Lane's Indiana brigade and Captain Sherman's battery (except two pieces, which are on the right and left of Bissell's regiment) are in reserve behind the long ravine in the rear of the plateau.

General Wool now rides along the lines, and addresses a few inspiring words to the soldiers, reminding them of the memories of the day; to these they respond with shouts of "Washington! Washington!" Now they silently await the attack of the Mexicans. Before it is made, General Taylor returns from Saltillo, and approves the disposition of the troops. He too moves along the line of battle, but no words of encouragement or expectation escape his lips. No need of such words from him; his soldiers know well that he never contemplates defeat in the face of the enemy, and that he is ready to perform all he asks of others. A glance of his keen, calm eye thrills the men as he passes them in review, and again loud huzzahs resound among the mountains.

At eleven o'clock a flag of truce is received by General Taylor with a message from General Santa Anna, advising Taylor to surrender at discretion, as he is surrounded by twenty thousand men, and must be inevitably cut the pieces. General Taylor "declines acceding to this request." While awaiting this answer, Santa Anna displays his army in imposing array. His infantry is disposed in two lines, one in rear of the other, on an eminence south of the plateau; it is supported by a battery of 16-pounders and a regiment of engineers on the right, and by a battery of 12 and 8-pounders and one howitzer on the left near the road. His cavalry is stationed on the right and left flanks, slightly in the rear; the battalion of Leon occupies an eminence on his left, and directly in front of Washington's battery. General Santa Anna, with the regiment of hussars, his personal guard, are in the rear of the centre. His large body of reserves and general park are on the road south of these positions.

Santa Anna soon perceived the weakness of the American left, and at one o'clock detached four battalions, under Ampudia, to seize and hold the slopes of the mountains on the east and south. The line of these mountains does not lie directly east and south, but near enough to warrant the use of these terms. While Ampudia's movement was in progress Santa Anna also ordered a demonstration to be made on his left, although he had already discovered the impassable nature of the ground in that direction. This had the effect he intended, for General Taylor immediately ordered Bragg's battery and McKee's Kentucky regiment across the stream, and they took a position to the right and front of Washington's battery.

At three o'clock the battle is opened by the Mexicans. They discharge the howitzer on their right, and Ampudia pushes vigorously up the mountain. Colonel Marshall, commanding on the American left, orders the riflemen of his own and Yell's regiments to dismount and deploy as skirmishers to meet this advance; they hastily ascend, and as volley after volley of musketry rolls down the side of the mountain, they are answered by the less frequent, but more deadly crack of the rifle. The riflemen conceal themselves behind rocks and shrubs to secure a surer aim, and they succeed, for the Mexican loss here is strangely out of proportion to the numbers engaged against them. Higher and higher climb the skirmishers; faster and faster ascend the close columns of Ampudia, hurrying up behind those already engaged, and striving to out-flank the Americans. Marshall, at the base of the mountain, sends a company to seize and hold a spur of the ascent that overlooks

the positions of both armies. They succeed, and he is reinforcing them, when an Aid from General Wool orders him to withdraw the advanced company. He obeys promptly, but reluctantly. General Wool then approaches and informs him that the order was incorrectly stated. Marshall sends an Indiana company to retake the knoll; they start; they are vigorously attacked; they waver and return, and this desirable position is lost.

Now the constant booming of the Mexican cannon mingles with the volleys of musketry from the hill, and their balls plunge harmlessly into the ground in front of the American troops on the plateau, who make no reply, but stand in determined silence, and watch anxiously the contest on the mountain, where the skirmishers stretch in a long line from the base to the summit. The struggle continues, each holding the ground first taken, until the approach of darkness, when the firing gradually abates. The Americans are withdrawn from the height with only four wounded, while they have disabled three hundred of the Mexicans.

General Taylor, satisfied that the enemy would not renew the attack before morning, again started for Saltillo to ensure its safety, and took with him Davis' regiment of riflemen and May's dragoons. Arrived at Saltillo, he arranged for its defense with the small force already there. Two companies from each of the Illinois regiments and Webster's battery; one piece of artillery and two companies of the Mississippi regiment were sent to defend the headquarters south of the city. Mifion, with his Mexicans, was hovering on the roads to the east, between the city and Buena Vista; he had orders from Santa Anna not to make an attack until the Americans were in retreat, when he was to fall upon and destroy them. The more effectually to accomplish this object, a force of one thousand mounted rancheros were sent by a mule path over the mountains towards the west to unite with Mifion when the hour should arrive to capture and annihilate the defeated Americans.

At La Angostura, on the battle-field, the moon shines clear and bright, throwing strong shadows in the valley, and showing brilliant lines of light across the plateau and on the elevations, where the Americans now rest in position and on their arms—rest as men do under the pressure of intense, but suppressed excitement. Profound silence hovers mysteriously in the black shadows; it steals ghost-like over the burnished arms of the waiting soldiers. The loud huzzahs, the strains of stirring

music, the boisterous jests are hushed, not by gloomy forebodings, but by serious thought and quiet resolution. These brave Americans are not hirelings, or mere machines in the hands of their commanders. They obey with alacrity in the routine of drill and in the moment of action; but when these conditions are relaxed, reflection, judgment and feeling awake, and they ponder on their surroundings, and upon the issues they promise. Now, for the first time, they have seen the enemy, not in the heat of battle (for the afternoon's work was but a skirmish) falling under their well-aimed instruments of death, but displayed in broad lines of glittering array, or moving in dense, heavy columns with firmness and vigor like their own; they have listened to the tramp and clang of their legion of horsemen; they have heard the thunder of those old Spanish guns, around whose brazen mouths are carved the curious devices of great kings; they realize how like a miniature army they, a few valiant Americans, are, as they lie on the hillside, when compared with the expanded hosts of the Mexicans. Thinking thus, they have no fear; they do not quail or tremble, but quietly and simply nerve themselves for the unequal contest, from which they are separated by a few hours of rest. In such a mood they hear suddenly breaking through the valley the tremendous Vivas! of the Mexicans, which follow a long speech delivered by Santa Anna to his soldiers, exciting them to desperation and revenge, "*Viva la Republica!*" "*Libertad o Muerte!*" "*Viva, viva Santana!*" Rising from amid these vociferous sounds, like the song of birds above the roaring cataract, swell the entrancing strains of the marvelous Mexican music. Mexico may be called the land of music and of flowers. Her women of all classes surround themselves constantly with the varied flora which bloom from the tropical feet of their snow-capped mountains, upward through their changing temperatures like the harmonious gradations of a musical scale, and her men abandon themselves to the enjoyment of music as only southern races can. The spirit of the old Aztec chants lend a wild and singular beauty to softer modern strains, as the Aztec blood has mingled strange characteristics with the old Castilian. Delicately and sweetly the tender strains float down the valley, and melt the stern hearts of the American soldiers. The source from whence they come is forgotten, and other sounds blend with the melodies they hear; the gentle voices of wives far away, the cooing of babes upon their breasts, the tender tones of sweethearts, the feeble words of aged mothers seem to fill the air; the Mexicans are no longer before them,

but white-winged angels seem beckoning them forward; tears slip unchecked over rugged cheeks, and simple prayers escape from bearded lips.

"Through every pulse the music stole,
And held communion with the soul."

Silence and darkness, fit companions, fall together on the martial hosts that lie in the valley; a cradle of old Earth, in which she has hushed her fractious children to a momentary repose. But like a passionate mother her mood changes, and her children move uneasily in their slumbers. Heavy clouds veil the white-faced moon; sharp, cold winds, seldom felt there, sweep through the valley; short, beating showers of rain chill the unfed soldiers of Santa Anna, and call forth gruff tones from the disturbed ranks of the Americans. No fires are permitted, except high on the mountain, where the fierce cold endangers the lives of the men; these flare like beacons of danger, making the darkness and cold of the valley seem more intense.

At Buena Vista a squadron of dragoons have parked the camp and the supplies on the road outside of the hacienda, ready for any result the morrow may bring forth; they too drop on the ground, with their bridle reins on their arms, and seize an hour of rest. The last hours of the night, and the last night of many noble lives creep on with their inevitable destiny.

On the battle field there is one exception to the general repose. On the height where Hardin's regiment is posted there is silence and busy thought, but no sleep and few idle hands. All night long both officers and men of this regiment and the Third Indiana work on the entrenchments in front of their position and of Washington's battery, strengthening and enlarging them.

Why were not other hands busy on the plateau on this portentous night? Why were not earthworks raised along the line of the ravine fronting the plateau? Why was not a battery placed at the base of the mountain and protected as that of Washington was? Having seen the design of the enemy to strike this weak point, why was all left to chance? It may be that such an effort would have drawn the fire of the enemy during the night, but if so, the Americans were in better condition to endure than the Mexicans to persevere in such a struggle. The previous night might have been employed in this way, or indeed the preceding weeks, as this was considered by the two Generals in command to be a suitable point for defence. At New Orleans nearly

three thousand British were slain, and but fourteen Americans. Why? Because the last were behind hastily constructed earthworks. Here, at Angostura, the line to be defended was short, and the time ample for such constructions as would have saved many valuable lives.

At two o'clock the American pickets were driven in, and before daylight Santa Anna had reinforced Ampudia on the mountain side with two thousand men from Lombardini's division. Stealthily, in the darkness that precedes the dawn, they climbed higher and higher, forward and forward, in their renewed attempts to outflank the American stronghold. At daylight Marshall threw out his skirmishers again, having withdrawn them on the previous evening by General Wool's orders. Immediately the fight began on the mountain, and General Wool, seeing how strong the Mexicans were there, detached two rifle companies of Bissell's regiment, two companies of Indiana riflemen, and a Texan company under command of Major Trail, to strengthen Colonel Marshall. He also ordered three pieces of Washington's battery under Lieutenant O'Brien, to a position on the left and front of the plateau, and General Lane was directed to bring forward the Second Indiana Regiment to support this battery. The contest grew more and more fierce on the mountain; Marshall, in his report of the battle, says of the riflemen under Trail who received the shock of Ampudia's heavy reinforcements: "Our men stood firm as the rocks of the mountain; they were but a handful compared with the enemy, but they yielded not an inch of ground for at least two hours, during which they *kept their front clear* within rifle-shot, though the enemy was enabled to turn their left flank, and also to push a regiment down the mountain on their right, with a view of cutting them off from the main army. At this moment, when matters were reaching extremes with my riflemen, I saw (on the plateau) a regiment of our men retreating. I had the signal sounded to recall my men."

While this was in progress on the mountain, O'Brien opened his guns on the Mexican infantry who were crossing the head of the front ravine to reinforce Ampudia. O'Brien's fire was so effective as to check this movement, and to elicit cheers from the Americans who could see the shrapnel tearing down the Mexican ranks at every flash of the well-served guns. The enemy's cannon thundered back spitefully their harmless replies. All this, occupying the earliest hours of the day, was but a prelude to the grand movement contemplated by Santa Anna.

It is nine o'clock. The Mexican General has formed his army in three great columns of attack. The first column, under General Mora

y Villamil, composed of a number of the finest regiments of the army, is ordered to move down the road and carry the La Angostura pass. A battery of eight guns has been brought forward and placed on the eminence occupied by the battalion of Leon to assist in this movement. The second column comprises Lombardini's and Pacheco's heavy infantry, which is to advance in two divisions; Lombardini's over the base of the southern hill and around the head of the front ravine to gain the plateau, while Pacheco is to push up through the ravine, and unite with Lombardini at its head, whence they are to attack in force the left of the American centre. These two divisions have each a strong supporting force of cavalry. The third column, Ampudia's light infantry, already engaged, is being strongly reinforced by regiments, who climb the mountain out of reach of O'Brien's guns. The reserves, under Ortega, remain in the rear on the road.

Let us take a birds-eye view of this well projected force, and look, also, at the Americans who will resist these heavy columns marching against their centre, the left of their centre and their left wing. Santa Anna contemptuously ignores their right wing. What American divisions do we find, and where are they? Their left wing? It is composed of a few skirmishers on the mountain. The left of their centre? It comprises three guns from Washington's battery, and General Lane's Indiana men, four hundred of them (according to his official report), on the left and front of the plateau. Their centre? Here, indeed, where the position is strongest, in and near the Pass, we find the largest body of troops. Washington's Battery, Hardin's and Bissell's regiments, and Colonel Lane's Third Indiana Regiment. On the right, where an attack is impracticable and will not be attempted, we see McKee's Kentuckians and Bragg's Battery. Davis' Mississippians and May's dragoons, with the Commander-in-Chief, have not arrived from Saltillo.

Santa Anna's columns are in motion. Villamil presses down the road toward Angostura, while the great battery on his right throws its projectiles threateningly in his advance. Washington's gunners, taking aim, wait patiently until the enemy is in range, when the roar of their guns is heard in return; the smoke conceals the foe; it lifts and whole ranks are seen prostrate. Their places are quickly filled, and again there is a steady advance to attack the battery and its supporting force; again they are repulsed, and we leave them still throwing themselves with splendid courage against the pitiless fire of Washington's guns.

Pacheco's men are also seen coming up the deep ravine. Colonel Churchill, ever watchful, warns General Lane that he must prepare to

meet a heavy force. Lane orders O'Brien's guns and his own battalions to advance. The foe press forward, four thousand strong, and pour a tremendous fire into the untried Indiana men; they meet it bravely, and fire steadily in return. O'Brien, skillfully as before, directs his pieces on the advancing front. The Indiana regiment pours volley after volley into the now slowly rising column, and again O'Brien tears away their front, destroying utterly the corps of Guanajuato; their places are not vacant, for the enemy press onward; the Indiana troops still standing firm, are enfiladed by a destructive flank fire from the Mexican battery south of the field. To save them from this fire, and because the enemy are momentarily checked by the battery, General Lane orders an advance. O'Brien immediately moves forward and opens his fire, but the infantry by some mistake in the order believe it to be "*cease firing and retreat.*" Attempting this under so murderous a fire, they become panic stricken, all order is lost; they fly in hopeless confusion, bearing with them the riflemen of Marshall, who have just been recalled from the mountain. The latter make repeated stands, and finally rally in the great ravine at the rear of the field. In vain the superior officers urge appeals and entreaties upon the stampeding Second Indiana Regiment; nothing can arrest their flight. O'Brien, left without a support, still rakes the enemy unmercifully, charging his guns with two canisters at a time, and holding stoutly to his position. The great numbers pressing onward endanger the loss of his guns. Finding that no assistance is coming, he hastily limbers up, and with two of his guns retires reluctantly from the position he vainly tried to hold. He is compelled to leave one gun in the hands of the enemy, every man and horse belonging to it being either killed or disabled. The captured gun is borne off amid shouts of victory, and the exultant foe rush unresisted upon the plateau. At this moment too Lombardini has brought his division around by its longer route, and it is united with Pacheco's victorious troops. Ampudia's men come pouring like a torrent down the mountain and join in hot pursuit of the flying Americans. The gallant Captain Lincoln, striving by every means at his command to arrest the frightened Indiana troops, falls mortally wounded, and the last obstacle is swept from the front and left. The Mexican cavalry rush onward along the base of the mountain, and Santa Anna compels tremendous exertions to be made to get a battery of 24 and 18-pounders established on the plateau, while the seemingly irresistible mass of infantry dash forward with the insolence of an assured victory. But standing firm near the centre of the plateau, and ready to receive them, is Bis-

sell's Second Illinois Regiment. Churchill passes swiftly along their line and exclaims, "Brave Illinoisians, you have not marched so far to be defeated!" and Bissell calls to them, "Be firm, reserve your fire!" They receive repeated volleys from the enemy's muskets before they fire a shot; then deliberately and well-directed runs the line of fire along their front. Again and again this sheet of flame drives back the impetuous foe. Still this one regiment is but a breakwater, around which the surging waves now pour, and Bissell calmly orders, "Cease firing, and retreat." Steadily they turn, and firmly march, Churchill walking his horse slowly before them, until they gain the desired position. Then Bissell speaks. They face the enemy, and again that deadly sheet of flame runs along their line, withering the foe as lightning blasts the foliage of the forest. Thomas and French, each with a gun from Sherman's battery, send their plunging fire into the closely pressing Mexicans, and Lieutenant French falls seriously wounded; still the foe press on.

The troops standing idle on the right are ordered up, and

"Bragg comes thundering to the front to breast the adverse war."

He unlimbers on the left of Bissell's men, and begins his work, driving the enemy at every discharge of his guns. McKee's Kentuckians too are hurrying up the hill at double-quick in line of battle, eager for the fight; but passing all comes Hardin with his regiment, just released from Washington's support, where the enemy is repulsed. Coming into action on the right of the Second Illinois, Hardin's men are exposed to a heavy fire on the right flank from a brigade of Mexicans, who are crossing the head of the second gorge. Hardin wheels his regiment, and leading, lifts his sword and shouts, "*Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" Brave men follow; they hurl the enemy back into the gorge, then up on the other side and across the tongue of land into the last gorge, killing and wounding many; they capture two hundred prisoners and a flag of the "Active Batteries of San Luis Potosi." This is one of the most brilliant feats of a day made glorious by its minutes, each one filled with deeds of heroism. Colonel Hardin sends his prisoners to the rear, and finding himself separated from the other regiments, moves across the plateau, when Captain Bragg asks him to support his battery. This is pouring a heavy fire into the enemy's cavalry, which is struggling to get around the American left. Bragg drives them back, and Hardin presses them closely; they give way. Bragg limbers up and takes an advanced position; Hardin charges into

the supporting infantry, and they are clearing a pathway before them, when a Mexican light battery is brought within canister range, and they must again retire.

Now Taylor arrives from Saltillo, and grasps the helm to guide the ship so nearly wrecked a moment since. He takes his stand with May's dragoons on the plateau behind his line of battle, which has swung around until it faces the eastern mountain. It was at right angles with it in the beginning of the fight. But the line grows strong and firm. Sherman and Thomas, O'Brien and Bragg, the regiments of infantry alternating with the batteries, steadily hold in check column after column of heavy infantry, with which they are assaulted under cover of the 12 and 18-pounder battery Santa Anna has succeeded in fixing on the plateau at the base of the mountain. But passing rapidly behind the Mexican front of infantry press the legions of their lancers, hurrying on for a grand assault upon the extreme left of Taylor's army, where Ampudia still follows the fugitives. But as Illinois stood to stem the current in the front, so now Mississippi stands in the rear to dash it back. Davis, coming from Saltillo with Taylor, has allowed his men to stop and fill their canteens at Buena Vista, but hearing the tumult of the conflict, they hurry along the road, and approaching the field, they meet the panic stricken Indiana troops, still running towards Buena Vista. Davis rides among them, and exclaims, "Stay, and save the honor of your State! My men shall be a wall, behind which you can form in safety." His soldiers offer their canteens to all who will return; but fear and despair have seized them. Colonel Bowles, their commander, his eyes streaming with tears, grasps a musket, and calling upon them to come with him, joins the Mississippians as a private; a few rally around him, and as if the honor of their brave young State dwelt in each soul they fight with desperate valor to the close of this awful day.

Davis now sees Ampudia's light infantry in fine array marching down a broad slope, between two ravines, to gain the coveted road. An arm of the great ravine lies between them and his regiment. He throws his men in line of battle, and advances at double-quick, and as they near the small ravine he orders, "*Halt, and fire!*" then, "*Fire advancing!*" That fire is deadly; the enemy is checked. This does not satisfy the Mississippians. They start again, dash down the ravine, are lost to view, now rise in even waves along its farther crest; again the order, "*Fire advancing!*" The enemy are routed; they fall back hopelessly on their reserves.

While this is in progress the contest on the plateau continues with undiminished vigor under the immediate orders of the two Commanders-in-Chief, Taylor and Santa Anna. The American infantry and artillery hold in check the Mexican centre column, which, reinforced, still strives to clear the great plateau. Santa Anna's personal guard, the renowned Hussars, under his own eye, perform prodigies of valor. Now here, now there, they strive to penetrate the defences of the valley road, which, secured by the Mexicans, will ensure the capture of Taylor's army. But daring feats and overwhelming numbers are unavailing, for still that little army, like a ship obedient to the pilot's will, holds its course between the mountain and the road; though surging on waves of blood and sometimes of despair, it keeps its channel, and will not be wrecked on rock or reef.

As the fire of Davis' riflemen abates, General Taylor hears a tumult and rapid firing still farther to the left, and near Buena Vista. He orders May's dragoons and Reynolds, with two pieces of artillery, to give assistance there. Before they reach the hacienda, Tarrejon's brigade of lancers are charging on Marshall's Kentucky and Yell's Arkansas mounted men, who have been hastily drawn in line to receive them. They do not wait for the Mexican advance, but charge at the same time; the contending forces meet with the terrible clash, the hand to hand encounter and the carnage of an ancient knightly contest. General Tarrejon is desperately wounded; Colonel Yell is slain in the very first onset; Captain Porter falls mortally wounded, and the accomplished young Vaughn is pierced by a score of lance wounds, many of them mortal; Mexicans and Americans now mingle in inextricable confusion as they dash along the road towards the hacienda. There Trail and Gorman form their companies of infantry to resist the lancers. This is done successfully, and they are driven back upon the remainder of their brigade, now retreating to the Mexican lines. May and Reynolds come up in time to open fire and make this flight precipitous.

While this is in progress at Buena Vista another brigade of cavalry concentrates on the slope, where Davis had repulsed Ampudia. The Mississippians are now reinforced by Colonel Lane's Third Indiana Regiment, and one howitzer under Sherman. The Mexican cavalry come on with an evident intention to charge the regiments. Davis advances in line of battle across the slope, and stands to receive them. He orders the Indiana regiment into line of battle on his right along the edge of the ravine; the two battalions forming a reentering, obtuse angle—almost a V—which will inflict a cross-fire on the foe. Sherman's howitzer is on the left.

"The enemy was formed in close columns of squadrons, and came down the slope at an easy hand gallop. His ranks were closed, his troopers riding knee to knee, and dressing handsomely on their guides; all the flags and pennons were flying; the men, fifteen hundred in number, in full uniform, and the horses elegantly caparisoned; every lancer sat erect and kept his charger well in hand. Those fine fellows were the chivalry of Mexico." The brigade swept onward, evidently believing they could draw the fire of the Americans while out of range, then dashing on overwhelm by their weight and rapidity the small lines before them. But the Americans stand with shouldered arms like statues. Davis' low, firm tones glide along the lines, "*Don't shoot! don't shoot!*" The men catch his spirit, and wait until the game is near. The horsemen hesitate; they halt, appalled by this silent, unmoved front. It is no time for hesitation; they are already in range. The rifles reverberate along one line, and simultaneously the muskets *roll* volley along the other, their balls converging in a murderous focus on those proud Spanish hearts. Riderless the blooded horses dash away, for the whole line is destroyed. Before they form again, Sherman's howitzer is tearing through their centre; they turn and fly towards the mountain.

Davis and Lane now cooperate with May and Reynolds, returned from Buena Vista. They are driving the Mexicans steadily back from that quarter. May, with his dragoons, charging again and again, pushes them onward towards Santa Anna's main army. Bragg turns his guns upon the Mexicans between May and Davis. Every piece of American artillery is now playing with rapidity upon the wavering line of the enemy. May is charging at furious speed upon his right flank, and the infantry, inflamed to the highest pitch of excitement, outdo the deeds of the morning. Hardin on the plateau first sees the *black flag* wave over the Mexican line, and pointing it out, says quietly to the officers near him: "See, it comes to victory or death." But soon it catches other eyes, and the cry, "*Victory or death!*" runs along the American lines. More terrible grows the charge of the dragoons; more stern and firm the aim of the riflemen; more rapid and determined the rolling volleys of musketry. The roaring of the cannonade is awful beyond conception, and, to increase its terrors, a violent tempest of hail and rain, with vivid flashes of lightning and appalling claps of thunder, sweeps through the valley. The Americans give no heed to the storm; they redouble their efforts. Santa Anna's horse is killed; the rider is borne down, and—Victory! victory! his line is broken. Off his columns swerve, one flying back under his great battery, and the other driven towards his staggering right wing.

Exultant shouts ring out amid the storm. Six thousand Mexicans are huddled together like sheep in a tempest separated from their shepherd. The Americans need make but one more effort, and the field is won.

But Santa Anna, wiley and quick now lays his plan and acts. What cares he for reasons; the case is desperate. He does not wait to frame a reason for a FLAG OF TRUCE, but sends it meteor-like across the stormy clouds of that dark field. The shadow of his *black flag*, even now waving high, should have turned this one gray in Taylor's eyes; but the old soldier's honest vision sees all things in its own white light. He receives the flag. His order runs along the line, "*Cease firing!*" But the rumbling of the Spanish guns still shakes the air. The captains of artillery know their leader, Santa Anna, too well to obey the signal of his white flag. Let an officer who was present tell the story: "Four Mexican officers, at their utmost speed, came galloping towards us. Colonel McKee, Clay, Bissell and myself advanced some sixty yards to meet them. It was with great difficulty we could restrain our men from firing upon them, as they believed it was a *ruse*. They asked for General Taylor, and Colonel Clay accompanied the Aid of General Santa Anna to General Taylor. While the Aid was delivering his message to the General, I asked one of them who appeared highest in rank, 'What is the object of your mission?' He answered in Spanish, and as we did not appear to understand him, repeated in French that 'General Santa Anna wishes to know what General Taylor wants?' He said it with such an air of unconcern that we all broke into a loud laugh." General Taylor, however, received the message seriously, and sent General Wool to confer with Santa Anna.

Wool started on his mission, but finding that the Mexicans did not cease their fire, he returned without meeting Santa Anna, and the battle was renewed on both sides; not, however, until incalculable mischief had been done to the Americans, whose advantages so hardly won during the last few hours were thus sacrificed. From the right wing of the Mexican army a flag had also been sent and Captain Crittenden, General Taylor's Aid, replied to it with a white flag from the American lines; the treachery of the foe was now consummated, for as Crittenden entered the surging, disorderly mass of Mexicans who composed their disjointed wing, they pressed rapidly on towards their main army, bearing him and the flag with them. Bragg had these troops under his guns, when, as he says in his official report, "a white flag rapidly passed me and I

ceased my fire; the enemy *seized the opportunity*, availed themselves of the protection of *our* flag of truce, and drew off beyond the range of our guns."

The moment for complete victory was gone forever. The right wing of Santa Anna's army united with the centre, and the whole force continued its retreat along the base of the mountain on the plateau. General Taylor was again deceived, for he believed this to be a genuine flight, which could be made precipitate; he determined to seize the battery which covered the retreat. Accordingly, Captain Chilton dashed up to Colonel Hardin, who was near Bragg's battery, and said, "Colonel, you are wanted for a charge; hurry, or you will be too late!" "Then," writes an officer who was present, "the gallant Hardin, the soul of bravery, advanced to charge the enemy's cannon, under cover of which he was retreating." The American batteries open their line for the brave Illinoisians to rush through at a run. Again the stentorian voice of Hardin rings out, exclaiming: "*We will take that battery! Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" as he leads the way. Quickly after McKee and Clay follow; then, a little later, Bissell and his men; nearly all the light troops are now in close pursuit of the retreating foe; he flies before them; his curses and execrations, mingled with the shouts of the pursuers, fill the air; and thus leading the charge, Hardin, McKee and Clay, kinsmen and gallant gentlemen, dash on to their fate! No eye behind them to see their danger, and draw them from the fatal gorge! no General to see the hosts of the enemy rising on their flank from out of the great ravine! Where was General Taylor, the Commander-in-Chief? Where was General Wool, the second in command? Where was the brave and thoughtful Churchill? There is no reply. Read the official reports of the battle, that of Taylor, of Wool, of Lane, of every Colonel and Captain, and even Lieutenant who had charge of a detachment of troops. But one solitary sentence fills this fateful gap in that eventful day. General Taylor says, "The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his batteries, and *I had left the plateau for a moment* when I was recalled by a heavy volley of musketry fire." This is all we are told, "*I had left the plateau for a moment.*" At a critical moment an important order is given which must seriously affect the fortunes of the day, yet no superior officer watches its result. General Wool in his report ignores the whole movement, and writes as if O'Brien's guns had been captured before the infantry was destroyed in this disastrous movement. The whereabouts of the two Generals for *many* minutes, is a mere matter of surmise.

Santa Anna's *ruse* did not end with the recovery of his broken column, nor did he "confine his operations to the defense of his batteries." He was busy concentrating the entire remains of the force which had been engaged during the day, and uniting it with his large body of reserves, fresh and eager, for one final effort to recover the losses of the afternoon. He says, in his official report, "I directed Perez and Pacheco (Lombardini was wounded) to be prepared for an extreme struggle; I informed Villamil of my disposition." He put the whole force under Perez, that it might come down, like a sledge hammer, in single powerful strokes; he directed these blows in person.

With keen, shrewd glance Santa Anna surveys the field; he sees the impetuous Illinois men nearing his great battery, the Kentuckians following closely, and, not far distant, Bissell's regiment; O'Brien's guns are far behind, and one gun with Thomas is still more distant; not another soldier, not a general on the field.

A terrific fire was immediately opened on the right flank of Hardin's regiment, who was at the same moment attacked violently in front; the regiment changed its charge to a destructive fire, and vigorously resisted this attack; then McKee and Bissell, with their troops, hurried forward to assist, and the three united regiments charged into the Mexican ranks, "and," says an officer of Bissell's regiment, "again our spirits rose; the enemy appeared thoroughly routed; Hardin's regiment and McKee's Kentuckians were foremost; and while the Mexican regiments were flying before us, suddenly, as if by magic, they rallied and returned upon us, led by Santa Anna in person. They came in myriads, and for a while the carnage was dreadful; we were but a handful to oppose the mass that was hurled upon us, and could as easily have resisted an avalanche of thunderbolts." Hardin said sternly to those near him, "We will have to go," and a moment after an Aid-de-Camp from General Taylor came with an order to retreat. They retired, fighting as men fight for life—

Knew well the watchword of the day
Was, ' Victory or death ! ' "

In their retreat they reached the edge of the second gorge, the banks were precipitous, rocky and covered with loose, pebbly stones; it was narrow and more than fifty feet in depth, coming to a sharp angle at the bottom. Once in this pit, there was no chance to load and fire, but the soldiers clubbed their muskets and kept up the desperate struggle as they could. The Mexicans had enveloped the crest of the gorge,

and were pouring down its sides in all directions ; and, writes one who was there, 'on our side all was hushed into deadly silence, except the voice of Hardin ; wounded in the thigh he had fallen, but was endeavoring to draw his pistol, and still he shouted to his men, '*Remember Illinois !*' These tones rang in my ears for many days and nights afterwards, '*Remember Illinois ! Remember Illinois !*'"

McKee was killed first and quickly. Clay, like Hardin, was wounded in the leg, and had fallen, when a dozen lancers rushed upon him, and pierced him with as many wounds. Hardin succeeded in firing his pistol, and a Mexican fell under the shot, but another bullet pierced him in the neck, and five lance wounds were found in his body. Here also fell Captains Zabriskie and Willis, eight Lieutenants and many men.

For a time the entire destruction of the regiments seemed inevitable, for a corps of Mexican cavalry charged down the road towards Angostura, and were closing the opening of the gorge upon the road, the last avenue of escape, but Washington's guns were opened on them with the same vigor and precision of aim that had marked his repulse of the first column in the morning, and with the same effect. The Mexican troops were driven back, and the remnants of the slaughtered regiments came running down the road towards the Pass.

In the meantime the last great struggle was in progress on the plateau. General Taylor's highest and greatest qualities were now brought into action, and the crafty Santa Anna shrunk into insignificance before the sturdy American

When the infantry had been overwhelmed, O'Brien, left alone with his guns, saw that if he retreated to save them, the enemy, now pressing rapidly toward the height above the Pass, would carry the plateau and reach that point before assistance arrived. He already heard the rumbling of Bragg's and Sherman's batteries approaching on the left, and, says Captain Carleton, "His decision under the circumstances was stamped with more of heroism than any other one act of the war. *He elected to lose his guns !*" and he continues: "Still onward came the Mexicans. O'Brien's men were fast falling around him, he was himself wounded ; already two horses had been killed under him, and a third was bleeding. He looked back and saw that the troops in his rear were now nearly up, and encouraged his handful of men to continue their exertions. Still the Mexicans came on, and were now almost up to the guns, which were pouring into them canisters on canisters of musket shot. O'Brien looked back once more, and, thank God ! Bragg's

battery, which was leading, was at that moment coming into action. Sherman and the dragoons were following rapidly up, while Davis and Lane were bringing their infantry out of the last deep ravine upon the plateau. His pieces were nearly loaded again; it was slow work, the four or five men about him being weak from loss of blood. But he was determined to give the Mexicans one more round; he did so, and then he and the few crippled fellows who survived the carnage hobbled away."

While the Mexicans nearest the guns closed around them and rolled them away, the others continued rapidly on, running towards the position occupied by the Commander-in-Chief. Bragg, who was near him, had just unlimbered his guns, and appealed to Taylor for support. There was none to give, and the General replied sternly, "*Maintain the position at all hazards!*" The order was heroically executed, and the withering fire of that famous battery forced the enemy to recoil. Then Sherman came and wheeled up on the left, and at the same instant Washington's guns are heard as they rescue the infantry near the Pass. Davis and Lane, with their exhausted soldiers, come running over the ravines with trailed arms to take part in the struggle. They have no need for orders; the awful roar of artillery and rattle of small arms, and as they gain the field the bearing of the intrepid Taylor, intimate the efforts they must make. Immediately "they pour volley after volley of musketry into the enemy, striking him in flank, and enfilading his repeated ranks from right to left. The struggle is most desperate, the whole air vibrates with the rushing current of balls. The Mexicans fight as they never fought before, and in utter disregard of life. General Taylor is in the hottest of the fight, giving orders, his clothes torn and riddled with bullets, and General Wool rides from point to point, encouraging and stimulating the men." These, "diminished in numbers, grow greater in heart." The artillery is served with greater rapidity and effect than before, and the culminating efforts of the Indiana and Mississippi regiments are full of tragic daring. They stand alone, holding back the last frantic efforts of the enemy to again turn the left. They hold their ground, and the Mexicans give way.

General Taylor was now satisfied with the triumph of repulse, and made no further attempt to capture "the battery under cover of which the enemy was retreating," and which still held its place on the plateau. The smoke, which had enveloped the two armies, lifted slowly up, and "there was the field blue with the uniforms of the dead."

While this last struggle was in progress on the field of battle, Gen-

eral Miñon, with his strong force of cavalry had approached the road near Saltillo, between that place and Buena Vista, and succeeded in capturing a number of stragglers from the field. Lieutenant Donaldson, with one piece of artillery and one company of the Second Illinois Regiment, advanced from the city to meet Miñon. Donaldson was joined by Lieutenant Shrover with a howitzer, and together they boldly attacked the cavalry, drove them three miles on the road, and finally pushed them so severely as to compel a rapid retreat from the valley, and thus communication was reestablished with the battle-field.

At La Angostura, as the sun sank behind the mountains, the scattering fire of artillery on both sides gradually subsided. The two armies stood on almost the same ground they had respectively occupied on the previous night. They were still regarding each other sternly, face to face. On the American side preparations were made to resist, if an attack should be attempted by the Mexicans during the night. A close line of sentinels was stretched along the front, the few fresh companies at Saltillo were brought forward, and the wounded were sent back to the city in wagons. The troops on the field were supplied with food and water without moving from the positions.

The hours of the cold bleak night crept slowly over the American army, shivering and sorrowing; the losses they had sustained were those of friends and brothers, and victory was not yet assured.

At Buena Vista General Taylor and General Wool occupied the same tent. Wool was employed all night in issuing orders and making preparations for the ensuing day. At early dawn, with an Aid-de-Camp, he rode out to reconnoitre the position of the Mexicans, and only found the prostrate army of the dead and dying. He galloped hastily back and announced the flight of the enemy. "Then it was that a sound went along the lines ever to be remembered. It was but a single cry at first, then a murmur which rose and swelled on the ear like the voice of a trumpet, then a prolonged and thrilling shout: '*Victory! Victory! Victory! The enemy has fled! The field is ours!*'"

General Taylor and General Wool now, with an escort, made a careful reconnoissance as far as Encantada. "The scene through which they passed was dreadful. All the Americans who had fallen were stripped of their clothing, and gashed with wounds evidently inflicted after death; the Mexicans lay just as they had fallen. The plateau was covered with the dead, and the gorges were filled with them, the ground reeking with blood."

As Taylor's soldiers passed cautiously among them, there were no

living Americans to appeal for aid ; but many piteous cries came from the suffering Mexicans, and many a strong hand trembled that was compassionately stretched across the body of a comrade to succor a living foe.

From Encantada General Taylor sent Major Bliss, with an escort of dragoons, to negotiate with Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners; about three hundred had been taken. At Agua Nueva this was effected, and on the 26th of February the exchange was made. The Mexicans had lost two thousand in killed and wounded.

At Buena Vista and La Angostura the Americans spent all of the 24th and 25th of February in collecting and burying the dead.

" Full many a Northern breath has swept
O'er Angostura's plain—
And long the pitying sky has wept
Above its mouldering slain.
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,
Or shepherd's pensive lay,
Alone awake each sullen height
That frowned on that dread fray.

" The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo !
No more in life's parade will meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The Bivouac of the dead."

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

THE CASE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

The circumstances connected with the arrest of Major André, and the correspondence carried on with different parties in connection with his trial and execution as a spy, are familiar to readers of American history. During the past few years much has been written on an event so generally deplored. All the circumstances bearing upon it have been most carefully examined. The justice and humanity of the course taken with the unhappy victim of the chances of war have been freely discussed and a decision reached, which no new light to be thrown on the subject by further investigation will be likely to alter. There is probably not much difference of opinion as to General Washington's sincerity of belief that André was a spy, and justly amenable to death as such. But, as might have been expected, the course which he pursued was severely criticised by English writers.

In the John Carter Brown Library at Providence there is a small volume, entitled,

"The Case of Major John André, Adjutant General to the British Army, who was put to death by the Rebels, October 2nd, 1780, candidly represented, with remarks on said case. "If there were no other Brand upon this Odious and Accursed Civil War than that single Loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all Posterity." Lord Clarendon. New York. J. Rivington, 1780." The sentence within the quotation marks is taken from Lord Clarendon's History of the Eng. Rebellion and *appropriated* to this compendium.

I find no allusion to this little book in the foot note in Bancroft's History, in which he gives his authorities for his account of the André affair, nor in Sargent's Life of André. Sabin refers to it, under the head of André, in his "Catalogue of Books, No. 1453," but gives no account of its contents. Rich also mentions it, No. 47, 1780, and Bartlett, Vol. II., Part III., p. 158. The copy in the Brown Library is evidently a proof. Several of the pages are not printed upon, and there are numerous corrections by the proof reader.

The pamphlet is a small quarto of twenty-eight pages, there being not far from eight hundred words to the page. The preface is as follows:

"The Public was much distressed at Major Andre's Death ; and by that Dis-

truss gave the highest Testimony of his Merit. The Inhabitants within the British Lines were equally affected with the Army; whilst their joint Indignation manifestly showed the general sense of the Injustice and Inhumanity with which that amiable and gallant Officer was treated by the Rebels. Those who were so much interested in his Behalf, are probably desirous of seeing his Case properly stated. This is done in the following Papers.

"The Letters that were written during the Transactions, which proved so fatal to Major Andre, will best elucidate his Views and Conduct. Those Letters accordingly are here produced with other Papers subservient to the same Purpose. The several Events, as they rose, are also connected in a regular Series, and Facts are fairly represented. Justice to Major Andre's Memory required that these Matters should be placed in a true Light, especially as the Account of his Case and Trial, lately published by the Rebels (which is very imperfect and partial), evidently tends to tarnish his Character, as well as to justify, or at least to palliate, their barbarous Treatment of him. To relate Truth is in this, as in many other Cases, the same as to refute Falsehood and Misrepresentation.

"The Remarks that are subjoined were naturally suggested by the several Facts; they throw Light upon the Subject, and the intelligent Reader will perceive that they, and the conclusions which accompany them, are fairly deducible from the Premises alluded to in each instance.

New York, Nov. 28, 1780.

Taking for granted that the number of persons who have any knowledge of this book is extremely limited, it may gratify curiosity to see how those who regarded the conduct of Washington as unjustifiable, reasoned. A most strenuous effort is made to prove that André was not a spy, because he held passports under the signature of Major-General Arnold, who, at the time he gave them, was the recognized commanding officer of the Military Department. In reply to the assertion that Major André had no flag of truce flying when he went ashore, it is urged that the boat indeed might not have had a white flag displayed, but the reason was that they went in the night, when a white flag could not be seen, and was therefore useless. The following questions are asked: Did not General Arnold command there at the time? While he was possessed of his command, had he not a right to issue his orders? Were not his orders and authority a just warrant and protection for Major André? And did they not exclude every idea of a spy? The writer declares that there was not only much precipitancy in the execution of André, but "a vein of duplicity runs through the whole of the rebel proceedings." General Green had declared at the Conference at Dobb's Ferry, "that the army must be satisfied by seeing

spies executed." The reply is: "It appears from the testimony of several rebel officers, who were present at the execution, and of other spectators, that the rebel army in general was much disgusted and distressed at putting Major André to death. Many of the rebel soldiers melted into tears." It is charged against General Washington that he prejudged the case, and called upon his officers, before any military court had examined into it, to report the punishment that ought to be inflicted. Wishing, however, to have others share with him the odium connected with the execution of André, for form's sake, he called a council of general officers, who were "willing instruments for his purpose." "Some people," says the writer, "in the transports of rage or disappointment, or in some emergency, will do what they would shudder at in the calm hour of reflection; but commend me to the man who, with affected moderation, steady tranquility, and cool deliberation, can do what no rage, however violent, no emergency, however trying, can justify." He asserts "that General Washington should be considered as the Murderer of Major André. The execution has fixed an indelible stain on his character—a stain which no time can efface. The reflection that he doomed this innocent and worthy gentleman to death, merely to serve the views of ambition and policy, must embitter all his future enjoyments." He then proceeds to show that the execution of André, apparently by the authority of one man, was a part of an avowed policy to concentrate more power in the hands of a single individual. "Who can, with more propriety, or greater probability of success, look up for an investiture in that authority, power or administration, whether under the name of King, Protector or Dictator, than General Washington himself? In these times, however, when so many are shaken in their attachment to Congress by the pressure of calamities, that are still increasing, and by the prospect of inevitable ruin and slavery to America on the rebel plan; it was necessary for General Washington to give the Congress, and the determined rebels out of Congress, on whom he more depends, the fullest proof of his firm adherence to their cause. It might also be convenient to create a further necessity for the office of King or Dictator by pushing matters to greater extremities. Now what can be conceived more happily adapted to all these purposes than the putting Major Andre, Adjutant General of the British Army, to death?"

This is a specimen of the style of arguments to which those who condemned the execution of André resorted. In the light of history it is seen how specious was the reasoning. Some of the ablest English

jurists, like Romilly, have decided that by the laws of war, General Washington was fully justified in the step which he took; André was a spy who knew that Arnold was a traitor, and treated with him as such. He ran the great risk of losing his life when he set forth on the dangerous errand which he undertook. Success would have been followed by promotion and a rich pecuniary reward. He was not successful, and he paid the forfeit, which he had just reason to believe would be sure to follow failure. We mourn the death of an amiable British officer, who fell while in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, but we find no stain on the character of General Washington.

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE

NOTE.—The fact mentioned by Mr. Stockbridge that the copy of this pamphlet is evidently a *proof* copy, taken in connection with the absence of any notice or advertisement of it by Rivington in his Royal Gazette, as was his invariable rule with all publications printed by him during the war, leads to the natural supposition that it was suppressed by Sir Henry Clinton.

It contains the correspondence occasioned by the conference between Clinton's commissioner, General Robertson, and Washington's representative, General Greene, at Dobbs' Ferry, which was printed by Sargent in his *Life of André* from the original manuscript narrative of Sir Henry Clinton, in the State Paper Office, London, as yet unpublished, as well as the text of the letter of Greene to Robertson, written on the morning of the execution, which has not appeared elsewhere in full.

It seems probable, therefore, as Clinton permitted no mention of the *execution* of André to be made in the New York papers, and no other notice than his general orders of the 8th, read to the army, which only announce the *death* of André, that he was unwilling to have the pamphlet appear, but whether from personal or public reasons it is difficult to decide. Was he unwilling to have the publication of his own report, which he sent to the Government, with all the attending documents, anticipated by this pamphlet, containing the papers? or was he unwilling to permit such severe aspersions upon the motives of Washington to be printed under his sanction? His own report or narrative has not as yet been printed; a copy from the British archives is in the possession of the writer.

On the 1st of November, 1780, Rivington advertised the publication that day, at eleven o'clock (price two shillings), of "Proceedings of a Board of Rebel Officers, held by order of his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, September 29, 1780." On the 8th he reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the 25th October the "Letter from a gentleman at Camp to his friend in Philadelphia," which was generally and justly attributed at the time to Colonel Hamilton, appending to it the following foot note: "*The foregoing is a manufacture of Rebel Subtlety, of which more hereafter. Then Audite alteram partem;*" from which it is reasonable to infer that Rivington was about to print the *other side*. This letter is alluded to by the writer of the pamphlet, and by him "supposed to be Col. Hamilton's."

If the copy in the Brown Library is *unique*, the suppression by Clinton is highly probable, and the reasons for that suppression are a subject of extreme interest, taken in connection with the like suppression in the New York papers of every incident connected with André's mission, capture, execution, and burial. The clue to the mystery has not yet been found.

EDITOR

THE SEVENTY-SIX STONE-HOUSE AT TAPPAN

The recent erection of a monument to Major André at the place of his execution, and the approaching centennial anniversary of this historic event, have brought into fresh prominence, after a comparative silence of many years, all that is connected with his story.

The house to which the prisoner was brought by Major Tallmadge, on the evening of Thursday, the 28th of September, 1780, in which he was confined until the morning of Tuesday, the 2d of October, and from which he was led to the hill upon which he suffered, is still standing in the highway which runs through the quaint village of Tappan.

There is nothing in the history of this quiet, secluded spot to distinguish it from innumerable other of the old Dutch settlements, beyond this dramatic incident of the revolution. At the time of the discovery, the wigwams of the Indian tribe of the Tappans spread over the country, from the Hackensack river to the Highlands, from the Hudson to the western hills. The name is derived from Tuphanne, a Delaware word signifying "cold stream." For a while the Tappans held independant, undisputed sway; their proud chiefs refused to pay the contributions levied upon them by the Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, but they quailed before the formidable Mohawks, who came down from the Iroquois stronghold to collect the tribute, and enforced the right of the strong with bow and tomahawk that would not be denied. The tribe has long since disappeared, but the name is preserved in the old village and the now famous Tappan Sea.

This village was during the revolution indiscriminately known as Tappan or Orangetown, and is set down by both names on the map made in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Continental army. Orangetown, however, was not organized until 1788. It is about three miles from the Hudson, from which it is separated by the high ground which completes, beyond a deep gulley, the impregnable natural defence of the Palisade range; through this gap runs the road which leads to the western terminus of Dobbs' Ferry, where Captain Corbet kept a tavern in the days of the revolution. Here is now the small village of Rockland or Palisades, which is locally known as Sneden's Landing. The road from Tappan village to the Hudson follows the sinuosities of the ground, and is about one and one-half miles long.

North of the highland, and at its foot, runs the Sparkill, which,

widening at its mouth, becomes the Sloat, or ditch, and pours its waters into the Hudson. At the Sloat is now the thriving little village of Piermont, the late terminus of the Erie Railroad. The distance from Dobbs' Ferry to the Sloat is about a mile.

The lot on which the Seventy-six House stands, there is strong evidence to show, made a part of the Van Voorst share of the original patent which was conveyed to Cornelius Myers. It is situated on the west side of the highway, and is sixty-three feet front by one hundred and twenty feet deep. In 1753 it was purchased of Myers by Casparus Mabie, whose name may be seen on Erskine's map of 1779 as owner of other property in the neighborhood. When the house was erected is not recorded. During the revolution it was known as the Mabie Tavern, and from that period until quite recently it has been used as a place of public entertainment. From Mabie it passed to Frederick Blauvelt, and was by him sold in 1800 to Philip Dubey, after whose death it passed successively to the ownership of Henry Gesner, Henry Storms, Thomas Wandle, Laurence T. Sneed and Henry Ryerson, all of whom kept it as a public house. In 1857 it was purchased at mortgage sale by Dr. James T. Stephens, a resident of Tappan since 1846, in whose possession it still remains. In 1876 Dr. Stephens planted an elm tree in the rear of the building, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence.

The village proper was on a diminutive scale when Erskine made his surveys. This conscientious topographer never neglected to mark down every house or hamlet on his routes. The little cluster which bears the name of Tappan consisted of six houses and the church. The old Dutch Church, where the court-martial trials were held, and in which André was brought before the Board of General Officers by Washington's direction, was built in 1716. In 1788 it was rebuilt and enlarged; in 1835 demolished, and the present edifice erected. It stood at the northeast end of the village, where the road bends sharply to the northward, and from it led a lane, which ran westerly over the hill, on the north of which a part of the American army was encamped. Remains of the army ovens were until lately visible here. On the southeastern outskirts of the village still stands the building where Washington had his headquarters. Of the other houses designated by Erskine, that of Ryerson is still standing.

Mr. Spafford, writing in 1812, describes the inhabitants as principally descendants of the early Hollander settlers and as being "remarkable for their plainness and simplicity." He makes but a passing mention of



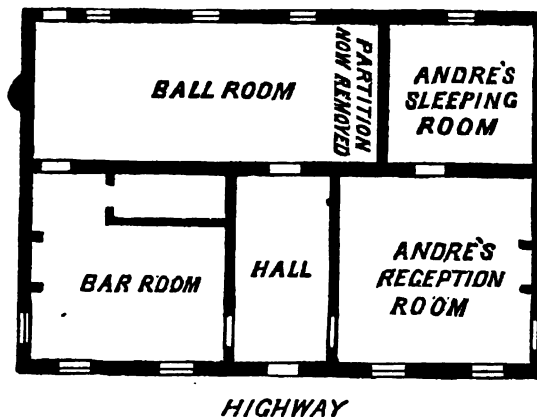
Major Andre



Portrait

André, "executed as a spy, last year, in this Town, just on its S. line." Later, his patriotic feelings were seemingly hurt by the elaborate ceremonial of the removal of 1821, and found expression in the edition of the *Gazetteer* of 1824, in a passage which may be quoted to show the Whig sentiment of the last generation: "The memory of the spy and the traitor are, however, alike consigned to infamy, snuff-boxes, royal dukes, poetry and sickly morality, fable, fiction, American clergymen, Westminster Abbey and the 'Monument,' to the contrary, notwithstanding." A half century has passed since these lines were penned, but the feeling which prompted them still exists, as has been shown by the numberless recent comments in the press on the setting up of the memorial stone.

The Seventy-six House is built of stone, with brick trimmings on the door and windows. A hallway, which divides the front equally, leads to a room, which extends over the entire rear of the building. This was originally a lean-to, with a partition wall, which was later removed, when the whole space was thrown together and used as a ball-room about a quarter of a century ago. Its southern front room was the public place of entertainment. In its rear stands a bar of peculiar construction; a projection of wood, with a canopy, supported by posts,

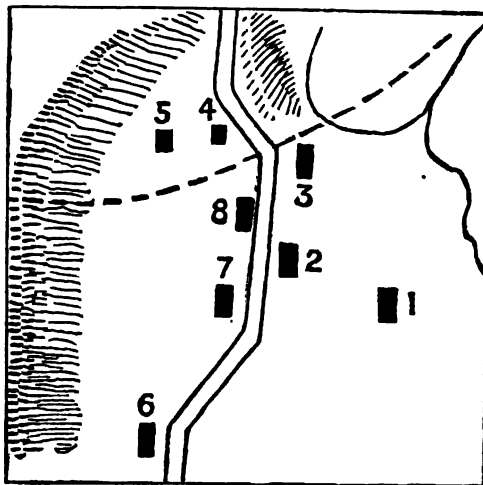


The fireplace was ornamented by tiles, which have been removed. A few remain in the possession of Dr. Stephens, but the greater part were carried away by unscrupulous visitors. The northern front room and the small chamber in the lean-to were arranged for the confinement of André. In the latter is a window, from which tradition is that André saw the raising of the scaffold, a statement which is entirely at variance with the shock he received when he saw the gallows, and first knew

the manner of his death. In this room, it is supposed, he slept. The lock of the door which opened from the other rear chamber, is now, with due authentication, the property of the New York Historical Society. In the front room Major André received Col. Hamilton, Major Tallmadge, and other officers of the American army.

Modest as this building must always have been, it nevertheless was the equal of any in the village. In his orders to Tallmadge, Washington particularly instructed him, while keeping close watch on his prisoner, to treat him with all the lenity his situation admitted of, and to see that he was comfortably lodged. The stone-work of the building is in excellent preservation, but the wood-work, within and without, is much decayed, and even what is left is with difficulty preserved from the rapacity of the relic hunter. The worthy owner, after repeated efforts to turn it to some practical use which would still leave it open to curious visitors, has found it necessary to close the building to save what remains. It is to be hoped that it may become the property of the State or County. Certainly there is no house in the land over which hangs a more romantic and melancholy interest.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



TAPPAN IN 1779.

- 1 John De Wint (Washington's Headquarters, 1780).
- 2 Rev'd Mr. Marselius.
- 3 Dutch Reformed Church.
- 4 Remains of Court House.

- 5 Casparus Mabie (Stone House), Andre prison.
- 6 John Myer.
- 7 William Concklin.
- 8 Parsonage.

ARNOLD THE TRAITOR, AND
ANDRÉ THE SUFFERER

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOSIAH
QUINCY, JARED SPARKS AND
BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood
From the Tallmadge Mss

I.

QUINCY TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, 12 Nov.. 1833

Dear Sir,

The accompanying letter has been transmitted to me by my friend Mr. Sparks, with a request that I would co-operate in ye request it contains. This I do most cordially and sincerely. I am sure you will readily aid ye labors of one who is throwing so much light upon the heroes and events of ye American Revolution— among the former of which you hold so high a rank, and to the glory of ye latter, to which you so largely contributed.

And now, my dear friend, let me recall to your recollection the many pleasant evenings passed in your society some twenty six or twenty seven years ago, when issuing from adjoining rooms, we alternately associated together and beguiled the weariness of Congressional apathy and vanity—you in telling, and I in hearing with delight of ye dangers, the sufferings and deeds of the times when, in comparison with our days, there were Giants in the land presiding its destinies. Remember what I then said to you, and which I now repeat. If you have kept a Journal of those times, if you do not choose to publish it during life, at least leave it in a state to do you justice after your

decease. If you have kept none—set about at once recalling the faded reminiscences of your own hasards, of ye sloop of war you captured, of ye Fort on Long Island which you surprised, and for which Congress voted you a sword—which they had never the grace to give— of ye battle at Germantown, and ye many interviews you enjoyed with General Washington, when he used your fearless patriotism, as it was one of ye most faithful and active in the field, & on which he could rely as on the best— Heaven has spared your life and your memory— Why should you not put what remains to its best use, that of gratifying your friends, and being to yourself & your country true in your last days by your pen, as you were in your earlier by your sword?

Very truly & respectfully,

Ye friend & obt Sev,

JOSIAH QUINCY

To the

Honbl Benjn Tallmadge

Litchfield, Connecticut

II

SPARKS TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, Masstts. Nov. 12th, 1833

Sir,

Being engaged in preparing Genl Washington's writings for the press, I have been recently investigating the subject of Arnold's Treason. As you were personally acquainted with many particulars which occurred after the Capture of André, I am induced to take the liberty of writing to you this letter for a little more light on two or three points. You know it has been thought very extraordinary that Colo Jameson

with the papers in his hands, which were taken from André's boots, and which were in the handwriting of Arnold, should have sent intelligence of this fact to Arnold himself.

In a letter from Colo Jameson to Washington, dated Sept. 27th, I find the following passage, "I am very sorry that I wrote to Genl Arnold; I did not think of a British ship being up the River, and expected that if he was the man he has since turned out to be, that he would come down to the troops in this quarter, in which case I should have secured him. I mentioned my intention to Major Tallmadge and some other of the field officers, all of whom were clearly of the opinion that it would be right, until I could hear from your Excellency."

By this extract it appears that you were present at North Castle when André was brought in; and it would also seem that you were acquainted with Col. Jameson's reasons for the course he pursued. If you will explain to me these reasons in detail, & the facts connected with them, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

Again, the Letter written by Jameson, dated Sept. 23rd, did not reach Arnold till the 25th. Can you tell me what caused the delay?

I find by a copy of Jameson's letter to Arnold, and of another to Lieut. Allen, who was André's guard after he was sent from North Castle, that André was first ordered to Arnold's Head Quarters, but that the order was countermanded while André was on his way, & he was sent to Col. Heldon at Old Salem. Do you recollect the reason

why Col Jameson altered his mind and countermanded the order for sending André immediately to Hd Quarters?

I trust you will excuse the freedom I have taken in making these inquiries, and accept the assurances of the high respect & consideration of

Your Most Obt St,

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben Tallmadge

III

TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Nov 16th, 1833

Sir—Your favor of the 12th instant came to hand by the last Mail. I notice your request, & I presume I cannot more effectually comply with it than by furnishing an abstract from my memoranda of some of the Events of the Revolutionary War *quorum pars fui*. No Circumstances during that eventful period made a deeper Impression on my mind than those which related to *Arnold*, the *Traitor*, & *Major André*, the Sufferer. I proceed then to remark that the 2d Regt of Light Dragoons, Commanded by Col. Sheldon, was stationed in advance of the Army, near North Castle, & Col. Sheldon being absent, I think at Salem, Lt Col Jameson was the Commanding officer, and I was the Major. Early in the morning of the 23d of Sept., 1780, I marched with a large Detachment of Dragoons to reconnoitre the Country below the white plains, down to East Chester, which was a sort of *neutral Ground*, from which Tour I did not return until late in the Evening of the same day. Soon after I halted, & had disposed of my Detachment, I was informed that a prisoner had been

bro't in that day, who called himself *John Anderson*. On Enquiry, I found that three Men, by the names of *John Paulding, David Williams & Isaac Van Wart*, who had passed below our ordinary military Patrols on the road from Tarry Town to Kingsbridge, had fallen in with this *John Anderson* on his way to New York. They took him aside for Examination, and discovering sundry papers upon him, which he had concealed in his boots, they determined to detain him as a Prisoner. Notwithstanding Anderson's offers of pecuniary satisfaction if they would permit him to proceed on his Course, they determined to bring him up to the Head Qrs of our Regt, then on the advance Post of our Army, and near to North Castle. This they effected in the forenoon of the 23rd of Sept., 1780, by delivering said Anderson to Lt Col Jameson of the 2nd Regt Lt Dragoons, who was then the Commanding Officer at said Post, Col Sheldon being then at old Salem, I believe under Arrest.

His Excellency Gen Washington had made an appointment to meet the Count Rochambeau (who commanded the French Army then at Newport, R. I.) at Hartford, in Conn, about the 18th or 20th of September, and was on his return to the Army at the time of Anderson's Capture. When I reached Lt Col Jameson's Qrs late in the Evening of the 23d of Sept, and had learned the Circumstances relating to the Capture of sd *Anderson*, I was much surprised to learn that he was sent on by Lt Col Jameson to Arnold's Head Qrs at West Point, accompanied by a Letter of Information respecting his Capture. At

the same time he despatched an Express with the papers found on *John Anderson* to meet Gen Washington, then on his return to West Point.

I felt very much surprised at the Course which had been taken in this business, & did not fail to state the glaring Inconsistency of their Conduct to Lt Col Jameson in a private and most friendly manner. He appeared greatly agitated, more especially when I suggested to him a plan which I wished to pursue, offering to take the entire responsibility on myself, & which, as he deemed it too perilous to permit, I will not further disclose. Failing in this purpose, I instantly set about a plan to remand the Prisoner to our Qrs again, which I finally effected, altho' with reluctance on the part of Lt Col Jameson. When the order was about to be despatched to the Officer to bring back the Prisoner, strange as it may seem, Lt Col J——n would persist in his purpose of sending his letter to Gen Arnold— The Letter did go on, & was the first Information that Arch Traitor recd that his plot was blown up. The Officer returned with his Prisoner early the next morning. As soon as I saw Anderson, & especially after I saw him walk across the floor (which he did almost constantly), I became impressed with the belief that he had been *bred to arms*. I communicated my suspicion to Lt Col J——n, & requested him to notice his Gait, & especially when he turned on his heel to retrace his Course across the room. We soon concluded that the safest Course was to take the Prisoner to Salem to Col Sheldon's Qrs, & I was appointed to take Charge of him. After we reached Salem, it was manifest that

his Agitation & Anxiety greatly increased, & in the afternoon he asked to be furnished with pen, ink & paper, which were readily furnished, when he penned the Letter to Gen Washington, dated "Salem, 24th September, 1780," which is recorded in most of the Histories of that eventful period. In this Letter he disclosed his Character to be "Major John Andre, Adjutant Genl to the British Army." When I had perused the Letter, which he handed to me to read, my Agitation was extreme, & my Emotions wholly indescribable.

The papers found in Major Andre's boots did not reach Gen'l Washington until he had arrived at West Point on the 25th, nor did Jameson's letter reach Arnold until the morning of that day, & that too after two of Gen'l Washington's *Aids* had reached his house. While they were taking breakfast the Letter was delivered to Arnold, who knowing that the Commander in Chief would soon be there, rose hastily from his table. & proceeded with all possible Dispatch down to his barge, & directed his Men to row him down the river, carrying a white flag in is hand, until they reached the *Vulture Sloop of War*, then lying in Tappan Bay, a little below Kings ferry. This was the same Vessel that bro't up Major Andre from New York. Soon after Arnolds flight Gen'l W—n arrived, but the vile Traitor had escaped.

I very soon rec'd an order to bring *Andre* on to West Point, under a strong escort of Cavalry; & the next day I proceeded down the Hudson to King's ferry and landed at Haverstraw, where a large detachment of Dragoons had been sent from the main Army at Tap-

pan, with which I escorted the Prisoner to Head Qrs.— After our arrival at Tappan, I reported the fact to Gen'l Washington, who ordered a Court—consisting of 14 Gen'l officers, to sit & hear the Case of Major Andre & report their opinion of his Case.

On the 29th of Sept'r Gen'l Green the President of the Court reported to the Commander in Chief that they had come to the Conclusion "that Major Andre, Adjutant Gen'l to the British Army, ought to be considered as a Spy from the Enemy, & that agreeably to the Law & usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Without further Comment on the measures pursued by the Enemy to obtain his release, I will only remark that on the 2d of October he was executed. I walked with him to the place of execution, and parted with him under the gallows, entirely overwhelmed with Grief, that so gallant an officer, & so accomplished a Gentleman should come to such an ignominious End.

I have taken a large sheet to make it a single letter & hope these few particulars may answer your purpose, I must add a few lines to my much respected friend President Quincy, & am very truly

Your most obd't Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Jared Sparks, Esqr.

IV

TALLMADGE TO QUINCY

Litchfield, Nov. 18th 1833

My much valued & respected friend

I have been much gratified & delighted by the addition made by you to

Mr. Sparks' Letter. I take the liberty to reply in the same way. The reminiscences of our byegone years when we endeavored to serve our Country, at Washington, sometimes serve to amuse & to beguile a long winters Evening & often do I recollect our pleasant Interviews. But alas how changed is the present political Arena! I can hardly conceive of any Inducement that could lead me again into public life. Adieu to it forever.

I notice your remarks respecting the Events of my military life in the revolutionary War & have only to remark that to gratify my Children, I have noted by way of memoranda some occurrences which passed under my own Eye. The difficulty which most perplexed me, has been a natural tendency to run into *history*, which I wished to avoid.

Again by confining the narrative to my own deeds & observations, *Egotism* seemed to be too prominent & that I despise. The few remarks furnished for Mr Sparks (tho' somewhat abridged) will afford you a specimen. Adieu my dear Quincy & believe me with unwavering affection

& great Respect

Your most obdt Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Josiah Quincy

[Cambridge, Mass.]

V

SPARKS TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, Feby 6th, 1834

Dear Sir—

I have had the pleasure to receive your very interesting letter, which you had the goodness to write in reply to my inquiries respecting Arnold's Treason.

As I have obtained many original papers on that subject, both in the public offices in England, and in this country, especially the papers presenting the trials of André, & Joshua Smith, with full written testimonies of many persons taken down at the time—I say as I have so many materials in my hands, I am about preparing a *Life of Arnold* giving a detailed account of his treason. I hope you will excuse me, therefore, for asking you many questions, which might otherwise seem insignificant or unnecessary. I wish to be as accurate as possible in my statements, & at the same time to include every important or interesting circumstance. Will you have the kindness, therefore, to answer the following queries, according to your recollection?

1st. Did André request Jameson to send him to Arnold? Historians tell us that this act of Jameson was chiefly to be ascribed to the address & persuasion of André.

2d. If Jameson was not thus influenced, what arguments did he use to urge himself to this step? The thing is so strange, that it cannot be accounted for, by any facts, which have appeared.

3d. How did it happen, that Jameson's letter to Arnold, which was written on the 23d, did not reach him till the 25th?

4th. Was André retained at Salem till orders came from *Washington* to take him to West Point? or was he sent forward by Sheldon from that post?

5th. When André arrived at West point or Robinson's House, did General Washington see him, or converse with him? Did Washington ever see him after he left West Point?

6th. To what commanding officer did you deliver André at Tappan? Was he at any time put under the command of Wayne? or did Wayne command at the post when you arrived with him at Tappan? I ask these questions, because it has been said, that André's prediction, — about the "Warrior-drover Wayne," in *The Cow Chase*, was verified by his being put into the charge of Wayne at Tappan.

7th. Why was not Wayne on the court of Inquiry when André was examined?

8th. How was André dressed while you were with him? In what dress was he executed? It has been said that he was executed in his full regimentals. But he had left his coat at the House of Joshua Smith. Was this restored to him before his execution?

9th. Was he buried in the same dress in which he was executed? The British Consul, who took up his bones, has insinuated, that he was rifled of his regimentals after execution, & before his burial.

Now Sir, I shall be much obliged to you, if you will answer these questions in as much detail as your leisure & recollections will permit.

You need not fear being too prolix. Indeed I should be glad if you would pursue the narrative day by day, and state all the particulars, which you can remember, respecting your conversations with André his appearance and conduct—and particularly the manner in which he was escorted from Salem to Tappan. As you are the only man living who can give this information, I beg you will excuse my freedom, and accept

the assurances of the high respect of your obliged &

Most obt Servt.

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben. Tallmadge

I have in my possession the original papers found in André's boots—and Arnold's pass.— You are aware perhaps, that I have all General Washington's papers, and am preparing a selection for publication. Two volumes are just now issuing from the press. There will be twelve in the whole.

Among Washington's papers is a large number of letters from you, written at different periods of the war.

VI

TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Feby 17th, 1834

Dr Sir

I have before me your favor of the 6th inst & will endeavour to answer your Queries, so full within my recollections after the lapse of more than half a Century.

I have already informed you, that on the day when the Captors of Major Andre bro't him up to our Regt at North Castle (Sept 23d 1780) I was out on Duty in advance of the Regt below the white plains & did not return with my Detachm' until the Eveng of that day. After I had desposed of my Troops & and had spoken with Lt Col Jameson, he informed me of the Capture of *John Anderson* & that he had been bro't up and delivered over to him by his Captors. When I inquired where the Prisoner was, he informed me that he had sent him on, under Guard to

Gen'l Arnold at West point. I expressed my astonishment at such a Course & immediately entered on a course of measures to frustrate what I considered so unjudicious a procedure. My first proposal was to give me leave of absence for official object which I fully explained to Col Jameson & which for special reasons I have not disclosed, as no public benefit could result from it. Failing in this request my next plan was to remand the Prisoner, then probably 8 or 10 Miles on his way to West point, which I did not accomplish until late in the Evening. After the Order was despatched for the officers & Guard to return with the Prisoner, I waited impatiently for the coming morning, when for the first time I saw the face of *John Anderson*.

What influenced Col Jameson to send on Major Andre to Arnold, I cannot tell, not being present with him when he sent him off ; but I well remember that he expressed great Confidence in him as I believe was the Case thro' the Army. Until the papers were found on Anderson, I had no suspicion of his lack of patriotism or political Integrity myself.

To your 3d enquiry, I remark that the non arrival of Col Jameson's Letter at Arnold's Qrs at an earlier period, is accounted for by the *Countermarch* of the Officer who had it in Charge with his Guard & Prisoner. I do not now recollect the distance from North Castle to West Point, but should think it was between 40 or 50 Miles.

4th. I do not perfectly remember whether I waited for an order from Gen Washington to bring on Major Andre, or whether we judged it best to

have him sent on, so as to arrive soon after the Commr in Chief, who reached West Point on the 25th of Sepr. The last case is the most probable, as it was deemed unsafe to keep such a Prisoner on an advanced post, & as I think I reached West Point with Andre the 26th or 27th, & Tappan on the Day following.

5th. When I arrived at W Point, after answering many Enquiries made by Genl Washington, I think I asked him whether he would see the Prisoner, to which he answered in the negative ; nor do I believe he ever saw him while he was our Prisoner.

When I arrived at Tappan I reported myself directly to Hd Qrs, and was informed that there was a house near to Head Qrs & a Guard of Officers ready to receive the Prisoner. In their hands I left him, and in a short time, at his own request, I returned to him, & continued with him almost the whole time until he was executed, which was on the 2d of Octr, 1780.

I was well acquainted with Genl Wayne (Mad Anthony, as we used to call him), but do not remember to have seen him while I was at Tappan. The Commr in Chief selected the Board of Genl Officers to investigate the Case of Major Andre, & report the same with their Opinion to him, & no one took upon him the liberty to enquire why A. was Appointed a Member of the Board & B. omitted. From the time I first recd Major Andre into Custody until I deliv'd him at Tappan he was clothed in a plain Country man's Dress, with a Surtout overall (rather shabby), which I think he told me was J. Smith's, at

Haverstraw, where he was concealed. Soon after we reached Tappan his Regimentals were sent out from New York, in which he constantly appeared, in which he walked to the Gallows, & was executed, & in which *I saw him laid in his Coffin*. Mr. Buchannan the British Consul's Insinuation looks a little as if he might have been stripped of his Regimentals before he was buried. This I know was not the Case. But whether he might not have been taken up by some *human Vulture* after the army removed from that Quarter, who then deprived him of his Regimentals, I am willing to leave to Mr B——n to settle by Chymistry or any other process which would dissolve metallic buttons, while a leathern string around his hair was preserved entire. I believe I have now attended to all your Queries, so far as my recollection serves me. I will now close with a few remarks, which you seem to request, and as a Historian may be entitled to receive—

I begin then by remarking that with Arnold's Character I became acquainted while I was a Member of Yale College & he residing at New Haven, & I well remember that I was impressed with the belief that he was not a man of Integrity. The revolutionary war was coming on soon after I left College, & Arnold engaging in it with so much Zeal, & behaving so gallantly in the Capture of Burgoyne, we all seemed, as if by common Consent, to forget his knavish tricks. When he was put in Command of West point, I had official Communications with him, particularly as it related to my private Correspondence with persons in N. York, of wh you must have

seen much in my Letters to Genl Washington, now in your hands. When he turned Traitor, & went off, I felt for a time extremely anxious for some trusty friends in N. York, but as I never gave their names to him, he was not able to discover them, altho' I believe he tried hard to find them out.

My narrative must of necessity be somewhat Egotistical, altho' I not unfrequently remind myself that I am not writing my own Biography, nor the history of the revolutionary war, but only noting down a few Reminiscences of one important Occurrence in that most memorable period—

With your Indulgence then I will add one more Anecdote of this *Arch Traitor*, & I shall have done with him, I hope, forever.

After he had got settled down in his new Situation at N York, he addressed a letter to me by flag, in which he said many more flattering things as an officer than I should have dared to say of myself; and then advised me to quit the American cause & join the British Standard, assuring me that America could not succeed in her Rebellion against her Parent Country. To induce me to take this Step, he said he was authorized to offer me the same rank in the British Army that I held in the American. At first I confessed I felt somewhat mortified that my Patriotism could be even suspected by this most consummate Villain. I took the Letter, however, immediately to Genl Washington, who consoled me abundantly on the Occasion.

I come now to treat of a very different Character, whose name will shine

with Lustre & Glory, while that of the Traitor will be handed down with Infamy & disgrace to the latest posterity.

From the moment that Major Andre made the Disclosure of his name & true Character, in his Letter to the Commander in Chief, dated Sepr 24th, 1780, which he handed to me as soon as he had written it, to the moment of his Execution, I was almost constantly with him. The Ease and affability of his manner, polished by the refinement of good Society & a finished Education, made him a most delectable Companion. It often drew tears from my Eyes to find him so pleasant & agreeable in Conversation on different Subjects, when I reflected on his future fate, & that too, as I believed, so near at hand—

Since you ask for private Anecdotes, I would remark that soon after Acquaintance, being mutually disposed to have the most unreserved & free Conversation, & both being soldiers of equal Rank in the two Armies, we agreed on a Cartel, by the terms of which each one was permitted to put any Question to the other, not involving a third Person. This opened a wide field for two inquisitive young Officers, & we amused ourselves on the march to Head Quarters not a little. Many Anecdotes doubtless were related, which the lapse of more than *fifty three years* has consigned to oblivion, & wh I have no desire to recollect.

My principal object was to learn the late plot. On every point that I enquired, when any other person was concerned, he maintained most rigidly the rule, so that even where that most infamous Traitor Arnold was concerned (&

he out of our control), so nice was his sense of honour, that he would disclose nothing. When we left West Point for Tappan early in the morning, as we passed down the Hudson river to King's ferry, I placed Major Andre by my side, on the after seat of the Barge.

I soon began to make Enquiries about the expected Capture of our fortress, & begged him to inform me whether he was to have taken a part in the military attack, if Arnold's plan had succeeded. He instantly replied in the affirmative, & pointed me to a table of Land on the West Shore, which he said was the spot where he should have landed at the head of a *select* Corps. He then traversed in idea the Course up the mountain into the rear of *Fort Putnam*, which overlooks the whole Parade of West Point, & with much greater exactness than I could have done; & as the Traitor Arnold had so disposed of the Garrison that little or no opposition could have been made by our Troops. Major Andre supposed he should have reached that important Eminence without difficulty. Thus that important key of our Country would have been theirs, & the Glory of so splendid an Atchievement would have been his. The Animation with which he gave the Account I recollect perfectly delighted me, for he seemed as if he was entering the fort, sword in hand. To complete the Climax, I then enquired what was to have been his reward if he had succeeded. He replied that military Glory was all he sought, & that the thanks of his General, & the approbation of his King, was a rich reward for such an Undertaking.

I think he further remarked that if he had succeeded (& with the aid of the opposing General, who would doubt of success?) he was to have been promoted to the rank of Brigdr General.

As we progressed on our way to Tappan, before we reached the Clove, where we dined, Major André was very inquisitive to know my Opinion as to the result of his Capture. In other words, he wished me to give him my Opinion as to the light in wh he would be viewed by Genl Washington, & a Military Tribunal, if one should be ordered. I endeavored to evade the Question, unwilling to give him a true answer. When I could no longer evade this Importunity, I said to him that I had a much loved Class mate in Yale College by the name of Nathan Hale, who entered the Army with me in the year 1776. After the British Troops had entered N. York, Genl Washington wanted Information respecting the strength, position & probable movements of the Enemy. Capt. Hale tendered his services, went into N. York, & was taken just as he was passing the out posts of the Enemy; said I, with Emphasis, do you remember the sequel of this Story; Yes, said André; he was hanged as a Spy; but you surely do not consider his Case & mine alike. I replied, precisely similar, & similar will be your fate. He endeavored to answer my remarks, but it was manifest he was more troubled than I had ever seen him before—

We stoped at the Clove to dine & to let the Horse Guard refresh; while there Andre kept reviewing his shabby Dress, & finally remarked to me that he was positively ashamed to go to the Head Qrs of the American Army in such a

plight. I called my Servant, & directed him to bring my Dragoon Cloak, which I presented to André. This he refused to take for some time, but I insisted on it, & he finally put it on & rode in it to Tappan.

The Catastrophe, which ensued after we reached the army at Tappan, was narrated in my former Letter, & the principal facts are matters of history. Give me leave then to remark that so deeply were my feelings interested in the fate of this unfortunate young Man, that I believe I have never narrated the story, nor perused the account of his merited, but ignominious Death without shedding tears of sorry over such blighted prospects. I hope & trust this will be the last trial of my feelings in this way.

I am yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

J Sparks Esqr

P. S. Altho' my views & Col Jameson's differed so widely respecting the disposal of John Anderson, I feel it to be due to his Character & Memory to declare that I never entertained a Doubt of his Patriotism & Devotedness to his Country's Cause. In sending the Prisoner & his Letter of Information to Arnold, his *Head* was in fault, & not his *heart*. His Confidence in his Commanding General outweighed the Influence of prudent precautionary Measures.

ROUTE OF ANDRÉ

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—A journal is hereto appended of the incidents with which André was directly concerned, from the time that he left New York



ROUTE OF ANDRÉ.

MS. SURVEY BY ROBERT ERSKINE, F. R. S.,
Geographer to the Army of the U. S.

1779.

In the N. Y. Hist. Society.

until the hour of his execution at Tappan.

September 20, Wednesday—Major André leaves New York City with verbal instructions and a letter from Sir Henry Clinton; goes on board a British sloop at Dobbs Ferry, east side, and taking advantage of the tide, sails to the Vulture man-of-war, lying at anchor off Teller's Point, at the lower extremity of Haverstraw Bay, which he reaches at seven o'clock in the evening. Here he finds Col. Beverley Robinson, his companion in the plot, and suffering from temporary illness, as well as uncertain as to Arnold's plans for a meeting, remains on board all night.

September 21, Thursday—André contrives to inform Arnold of his presence by countersigning a letter—sent to headquarters by Captain Sutherland of the Vulture by flag of truce—with his assumed name of John Anderson. In the night, after he has gone to his bed, Joshua Hett Smith boards the Vulture with Arnold's pass, and brings off John Anderson (André). They are landed from the boat at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain, on the west bank of the Hudson; where Arnold and André have a protracted interview in the bushes.

The Vulture being compelled to drop down the river by the fire of a cannon sent from Verplanck's Point by Capt. James Livingston, commander of that post, and planted on Tellers' Point, they abandon the attempt to reach the vessel by boat. Arnold and André ride to Belmont, the house of Joshua Hett Smith, two and a half miles from King's Ferry, which they reach about dawn.

September 22, Friday—André passes

the day at Smith's house—such is Smith's story. It is more probable, however, that Arnold improved this opportunity to show him the West Point approaches. At dusk André, disguised in Smith's clothing, and accompanied by him, rides to King's Ferry; they are taken across the river to Verplanck's Point, where they stop for a moment at the tent of Colonel Livingston. Continuing their journey, they are stopped, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, near Crompond, by Captain Boyd, of Sheldon's regiment of Light Dragoons, who was out with a patrol, and recommended to the tavern of Andreas Miller, where they pass the night together. (Smith's narrative does not accord with this. He says that five or six miles below Verplanck's Point they met a patrol, and were challenged by Captain Bull. By his advice they returned several miles to a tavern kept by a man named McKoy).

September 23, Saturday—Permitted to continue their journey, they start just before dawn. They breakfast at the house of Mrs. Sarah Underhill on the Pine's Bridge road, about one mile south of Crompond. Here, Smith declining to go further, they separate; Smith riding northward to Fishkill, where his family was staying, and André starting on the Sing Sing road. Continuing on the river road—the King's Highway—at times riding and at times leading his horse, he meets with no hindrance until he reaches the brook, a quarter of a mile north of Tarrytown, a short distance beyond the American lines, where he is stopped by Paulding Van Wart and Williams about eleven o'clock

in the forenoon. They search him on the road, and carry him across the fields, halting at the house of Jacob Romers, to North Castle, where an outpost of the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons (Sheldon's) was stationed, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Jameson.

Lt. Col. Jameson sends André under guard up to Arnold's headquarters at Robinson's house; he sends also a letter to Arnold, and at the same time despatches an Express to the northeast to meet General Washington, then on his way from Hartford to West Point, after his interview with Rochambeau.

Major Tallmadge, of Sheldon's regiment, returning with a detachment from a patrol late in the evening to Lt. Col. Jameson's quarters, protests against the course pursued, and an officer is at once sent to bring back the prisoner. The ride lasts through the night.

September 24, Sunday—Early in the morning André is brought back to Jameson's quarters, and at once sent, under charge of Major Tallmadge, to South Salem, the headquarters of the Second Regiment of Light Infantry.

These headquarters were in a barn belonging to Squire Gilbert. Col Sheldon was at the time under arrest.

André passes the day in confinement. In the afternoon André writes a letter to General Washington, disclosing his true character. This letter Tallmadge reads at André's request.

September 25, Monday—Arnold, while at breakfast receives Lt Col Jameson's letter; instantly rides to the shore, and calling his barge, escapes to the Vulture, by water. The Vulture weighs anchor and sails down the river.

Washington, at four o'clock in the afternoon receives the despatches, and orders André to be brought up. At seven in the evening, on receipt of André's letter, Washington sends a second despatch, ordering that he be brought under "a strong escort, by an upper road."

The first order reached the Gilbert farm house at midnight, and André was at once started under guard of Tallmadge. At the North Salem Church they meet the second messenger, with Washington's orders for a change of route. They ride all night through a pelting rain.

September 26, Tuesday—Major Tallmadge arrives with the prisoner at Robinson's house soon after dawn. They had halted for a few moments at the fork of the road near Peekskill, near the residence of General Pierre Van Cortlandt.

September 27, Wednesday—André is taken by Tallmadge across the river to West Point. (There is some doubt as to whether André was taken across the river from Robinson's House to West Point on the 26th or 27th. Tallmadge is uncertain. Major Burroughs, however, testified on the trial of Smith that he saw Major André when he crossed the river the preceding *Wednesday*, which was the 27th. This is direct evidence.)

September 28, Thursday—André is brought early in the morning in a barge by Major Tallmadge from West Point to King's Ferry—here they are met by Tallmadge's squadron of horse, sent across the river to join him. He takes his prisoner to the camp at Orange

Town (Tappan) by an interior circuitous road. They halt and dine at the house of John Coe in the Clove (at Katiat, about ten miles from King's Ferry), and reach Orangetown at dusk. André is confined in the house of Cornelius Mabie, now known as the Seventy-six Stone House. This house was in the camp. Washington ordered that his "room be a decent one, and that he be treated with civility," but kept under personal supervision.

Washington arrives at camp, and makes his headquarters at the house of John De Wint.

September 29, Friday—Laune, the servant of André, arrives at camp from New York with clothing sent up to him by General Robertson by a flag of truce.

André is brought before a court of General Officers, tried in the old Dutch Church, and sentenced to death.

André writes to Sir Henry Clinton, recommending to him his family.

September 30, Saturday—André is still in confinement at Mabie's house. He is accompanied by Tallmadge and receives the visits of American officers.

Washington approves the sentence of the court-martial.

October 1, Sunday—Washington in "Morning Orders" directs the execution to take place at five o'clock the same afternoon.

André writes to Washington, asking for a soldier's death.

A letter arrives in the morning from Sir Henry Clinton to Washington, announcing the sending of Commissioners for a Conference concerning André; Washington in "After Orders" postpones the execution till the morrow.

The Commissioners arrive at Dobbs' Ferry in the Greyhound schooner Flag of Truce. One of them, General Robertson, is met by General Greene in the afternoon; the negotiation fails.

Washington in "Evening Orders" directs that the execution take place at twelve o'clock the next day.

October 2, Monday—André is hanged at twelve o'clock, on the high hill in the rear of his place of confinement, in front of the lines, and within the limits of the camp.

GAINES' UNIVERSAL REGISTER

1780

September begins on Friday, hath 30 Days

First Quarter, Thursday, the 21st, 6 Morning.

New Moon, Thursday, the 28th, 2 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
21	Thursday	3 00	5 58	7
22	Friday	3 54	5 59	7
23	Saturday	4 50	6	6
24	Sunday	5 48	6 1	6
25	Monday	6 30	6 3	6
26	Tuesday	7 38	6 4	6
27	Wednesday	8 30	6 5	6
28	Thursday	9 27	6 7	6
29	Friday	10 12	6 8	6
30	Saturday	11 6	6 10	6

October begins on Sunday, hath 31 Days.

First Quarter, Friday the 6th, 1 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
1	Sunday	11 56
2	Monday	12 50	6 13	6
3	Tuesday	1 43	6 14	6
4	Wednesday	2 36	6 15	6

ASPECTS.

September 23—Moon rises 12.10.

25 } Cloudy and may rain.
26 }

October 2 } Now expect rain.
3 }

4—Moon sets 9.57.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The map of the route annexed is taken from the survey prepared in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer in General to the Army of the United States. Erskine died at his residence at Ringwood, New Jersey, the day of André's execution.

EDITOR.

THE REMOVAL OF SCHUYLER.—This important act of the Continental Congress, which determined the result of the campaign of 1777 by opposing to Burgoyne a general of ability superior to his own, and who possessed the confidence of the army, has been the source of endless dissatisfaction and reproach; the biographers of Schuyler, not content with his own justly earned reputation, have endeavored to transfer to him the laurels as justly earned by Gates in the profound strategy which secured the capture of Burgoyne's entire army.

A letter has recently been brought to our notice in which Schuyler himself conclusively disposes of this claim. It was written to John Jay, January 18, 1779, and contains the following passage:

"I have long since justified Congress for depriving me of the command in 1777, convinced that it was their duty to sacrifice the feelings of an individual to the safety of the States, when the people who only could defend the country refused to serve under him."

If the history of the revolution is to be rewritten it is as well that it should be made to rest on the "bottom facts."

EDITOR.

QUERIES

PICKETING.—In an army order book, Orangetown, 20th August, 1780, appears the following entry in the finding of a court-martial; "He is sentenced to be picketed 15 minutes, and to receive 100 lashes on his back." What was *picketing*?

IULUS.

GERARD, THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY.—I would like information as to this gentleman, whose full name is given as Chevalier Conrad Alexander Gerard. He was the first minister of France to the United States, arriving here with the fleet of d'Estaing in 1778. What rank did he finally attain, and what was his career after his return to France?

ARMA.

THE IRISH ELEMENT IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—Major-General Robertson, in his examination before the House of Parliament in relation to the conduct of the American war, on being asked by Mr. Burke how the Provincial corps were composed, whether they were mostly Americans or emigrants from various nations in Europe, made the following reply:

"Some corps mostly natives; the greatest number such as can be got; many may be emigrants; our force similar to the rebels in that circumstance. Gen. Lee informed me that half the rebel Continental army were from Ireland."

Joseph Galloway also testified that by accounts kept 2,300 deserters came into the British army at Philadelphia. The deserters in all numbered about 3,000, of those who came in the names and places of nativity were taken down;

one-half of them were Irish, scarce a fourth Americans, the other fourth English or Scotch.

Is it possible at this late day to obtain authentic information in regard to strength of the Irish element in the Continental army? PETERSFIELD.

REPLIES

ARNOLD NOT A FREEMASON.—(III., 578.) It is generally believed that the traitor, Benedict Arnold, was not a Mason. He is often spoken of in Masonic writings as the only General officer of the Revolutionary army who did not belong to that honored fraternity. I believe, however, that the statement rests on negative evidence—the entire absence of any lodge records to prove that he ever took any Masonic degrees.

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. H.

"PICKPACK."—(III., 638.) This is not an Americanism, but a good English word. "Pickaback," "Pickback," "Pickpack, variations of the same word. Vid. Johnson, Sheridan, Barclay, Webster, Worcester. Use—

'The fellow on this odd emergence
Carries him pickback to the Surgeon's."

Taylor—Old Epigram.

"Mounted a pickback on the old."

Butler—Hudibras.

"Her darling under her arms, and the other a pickpack on her shoulders."—*L'Estrange.*

"Carried pickpack to bed."—*Sewall.*

E. C. B.

CANNIBALISM IN NORTH AMERICA.—(I., 389.) Mr. Murphy's denial of the prevalence of cannibalism on the North Atlantic coast was referred to in a pre-

vious number of the Magazine, but the Eleventh Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, Vol. II., No. 2, p. 197, shows that man-eating prevailed among the Indians on Great Deer Isle, Penobscot Bay.

PEMETIC.

ANDRÉ MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—(III., 453.) The expression, "*He was more unfortunate than criminal*," applied by Washington to André, occurs in a letter written to the Count Rochambeau: "Your excellency will have heard of the execution of the British Adjutant General. The circumstances under which he was taken justified it, and policy required a sacrifice; but as he was more unfortunate than criminal, and as there was much in his character to interest, while we yielded to the necessity of rigor, we could not but lament it." See Mem. Hist. Soc. of Penna., Vol. VI., p. 369, and Sargent's André (ed. of 1871), p. 400. C. A. C.

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.—(III., 579.) If W. H. will refer to pages 173-174 of the first edition of my History of Our Flag, he will find that the flag saluted at St. Eustasia in 1776 was the Continental, or striped ensign, without the stars. And on pages 198-199 he will find that Paul Jones officially claimed, what I believed to be the fact, that *he* received the first salute to the Stars and Stripes at Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778. The Hon. James Birney could not have read the facts when he announced his opinion, as the *stars* and *stripes* had no existence when the salute was fired at St. Eustasia—and I

do not come down in my opinion—and Ezra Greene's diary only confirmed Paul Jones' official announcement.

GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—(III., 581.) I have in my possession a small pamphlet in French, which I bought in Paris more than twenty years ago. It is entitled "Manuel des jeux de Boston, Boston de Fontainebleau, Boston de Lorient, Boston Anglais, Cribbage, Vendome et Cassino, par Van Tenac et Delanoue." Paris, pp. 73. It gives an account of the different varieties of the game mentioned in the title, and they are all very similar. In its description of the game of Boston it says that "it is American in its origin, and dates from the War of Independence, taking the place of whist, which at that time was the popular game in the New World."

A reference to the game is found in the following note on the 364th page of William Tudor's "Letters on the Eastern States," second edition, Boston, 1821.

"A game of cards was invented in Versailles, and called, in honor of the town, *Boston*; the points of the game are allusive—*great independence, little independence, great misery, little misery, &c.* It was composed partly of whist, and partly of quadrille, though partaking most of the former. As it is almost unknown in this country, it may be of use to persons who amuse themselves in this way to know that this is the most interesting game that is played. It is still partially in use in France, but in every circle in the north of Europe, from Amsterdam to St. Petersburg, *Boston* is now almost the exclusive game. A work

has been recently published in France, called *Boston de Flore*; its object is to illustrate botany by a kind of cards."

It has been said that this game was invented by Dr. Franklin, and there is a tradition that he was fond of playing it.

The Boston Club of New Orleans was named after this game, and is one of the oldest social clubs in that city.

Boston. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III., 583.) The following facts, which are to be found in depositions in an old land suit in an adjoining county, will show that W. H. E. is incorrect as to the origin of this name, and we must go back farther than the war of the Revolution for its origin:

"In March and April, 1775, a party from Pennsylvania, known as Hinksons, under Captain John Hinkson, consisting of fifteen men, passed down the Ohio, and up Licking river, and landed at the mouth of Willow Creek, on the east side of the river, about four miles above the present town of Falmouth, and encamped there two nights and a day. While there one of the party, Samuel Wilson, cut a hackberry tree to make a Johnny-cake board."

The tree was standing as late as 1806. Maysville, Ky. W. D. HIXSON.

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION, 1779.—(III. 670.) The reference in Mr. Edson's sketch of Brodhead to Turner's History of the Holland purchasers is an error. The authority is for the statement that Washington dated his orders Oct. 18, 1779, from More's house.

EDITOR.

Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE LIFE AND EPOCH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. A historical Study. By the Honorable GEORGE SHEA. 8vo, pp. 470. (The Riverside Press.) HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

This book, says the author in his introduction, "had its first step in a monograph on Hamilton as a historical study." This paper appeared in 1877, and was noticed in the Magazine for June of that year (I., 334). It is to the early years of Hamilton that the present volume is specially devoted. It closes with the military relations of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton with the State of New York. His artillery company was then merged in the Continental Army, and Washington attached Hamilton to his person as one of his aids. He was then selected by the New York Convention as their correspondent at Headquarters. This was in March, 1777. He had then just entered on his twentieth year. That he was remarkable for the early maturity of his character and judgment is undeniable, but that at this period he had made any mark upon his time no sufficient evidence appears. Judge Jones in his Tory history of New York, recently published by the New York Historical Society, makes no mention of him, and he, whose shaft was full of sharpened arrows, would not have overlooked him had he been an important personage or a shining mark.

With all due respect for the learned Judge, it must be said that his enthusiasm has gotten the better of his judgment in his apotheosis of the youth Hamilton. His remarkable qualities of organization and administration, which he later developed in a manner so extraordinary as to win for him the praise of foreign statesmen as the most remarkable character that was produced, had not then arrested the attention of his fellows.

It is well, therefore, that the author has seen fit to enlarge the scope of his essay so as to include what he terms the Epoch of Hamilton, though it may be justly observed here that the Epoch of Hamilton did not begin until the war was over. His epoch was that of the formation of the Union under which we live; the Union which we owe in largest measure to his creative mind and constructive faculties.

The first two chapters of Judge Shea are introductory, and treat of "the Individual," the third, of "the Founder of Empire," the remaining six, of "The Life and Epoch." Under the head of the Individual a somewhat philosophic study is presented of Hamilton's intellectual traits, as illustrated by comparison with other

directing minds, particularly those of France. With Mirabeau, whose genius was however of a far different order, he delights to compare him, and he finds points of intellectual resemblance with Talleyrand. He finds him infinitely superior to Pitt. The death of Hamilton, Mr. Shea says, was timely. This is in one sense true; he was in the fullness of his fame. Occurring at any earlier period, his loss to the country would have been irreparable. His great work of construction was complete. The empire was founded. But it is simply absurd to say that "the death in the fullness of time confirmed the United States in their Empire." These exaggerations are common in the pages of Mr. Shea. They are the result of a vaulting ambition of style, which o'er leaps itself and falls on the other side.

One omission is noticed in these pages. The omission of the name of Hamilton, by pen or lip, in the pæans of the Centennial, is noticed by Mr. Shea with surprise and pain. But on reflection, is this so strange, so surprising, as it at first seems? Hamilton had nothing to do with the Declaration of Independence, played no commanding, controlling, part in the war of independence. His star rose to its zenith at a later day. It shone in full splendor in the debates of the Convention. Its light permeates with crystal radiance the Constitution. When the people of the United States shall celebrate in 1889 the formation of the "more perfect Union," which will have stood the test of a century of difficult experiment, the master workman, who forged the hooks of steel which hold them together, will not be forgotten.

We may with as much justice complain that Mr. Shea in his general sketch of Hamilton neglects all reference to his administrative powers, which excelled that of any man of his time. Before we turn from this branch of the subject, an expression of satisfaction may be recorded that Judge Shea has presented so acceptable and true a picture of Hamilton's charming nature. He was generous, warm hearted, frank. He was the idol of the officers of the army who survived the war, even of those whose political opinions differed from his own. To this the traditions of our revolutionary families bear abundant testimony. In private life he was indeed "the friend whose ardor no adversity could chill, and whose faithfulness no reverse of fortune could alienate." One rare trait he possessed in high degree—that of gratitude; the early kindness of his patrons, the Crugers, was the occasion of his leaving the little island of St. Croix for New York. To the day of his death, one of the family said to the writer, though often

employed by them in extensive law-suits of vital importance, he would never take a dollar from man or woman who bore that name.

In the *Life and Epoch* every item of information on the early period of Hamilton's life is presented, but importance is assigned to inconsiderable matters which distort their true proportions. The subject dazes the author. There was nothing in Hamilton's early career, nothing in his boyhood correspondence, here printed, which is in the least extraordinary. Mr. Shea again repeats the story of the harangue of the young collegian at the famous meeting in the Fields in 1774. Whether or not this tradition be true is of small moment. Certain it is that the contemporary accounts bear no witness to the effect upon public opinion claimed by his biographers. In his account of the differences between the Committee of Correspondence (of Fifty-one, as it is called) of 1774 and the citizens, who met in the Fields, Mr. Shea has merely fallen into a common error of our historians, or has not deemed it necessary to elucidate the subject. A few words will explain the cause of disagreement. In 1765 the merchants of New York inaugurated the plan of non-importation from Great Britain, as a means to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act, and redress for their other grievances. They were followed by all the other cities. The pressure was severely felt in England, and the Stamp Act was repealed. A continuance of exactions caused a renewal of the non-importation agreement, and Committees of Inspection were appointed to enforce it. But while New York kept her agreement to the loss of four-fifths of her trade, her neighbors, Boston and Philadelphia, broke faith and increased theirs. Naturally the New York merchants grew restive under the unequal bond, and in 1770 notified her sister cities that she would no longer be held by it, unless it should be recommended by a *General Congress of the Colonies*, with power of enforcement. So this scheme of opposition, which Lord North said was sufficient to have secured its purpose, if the other colonies had observed it with the same fidelity as New York, failed.

When the news of the Boston port bill reached that city, it was resolved (May 13, 1774) to recommend all the colonies "to stop all importations from Great Britain and exportations to Great Britain." In New York a Committee of Fifty-one was raised under the direction of the merchants. The committee organized on the 23d, and at once addressed the Boston committee, suggesting the immediate calling of a Congress. Boston evaded the question, and pressed the demand for a suspension of trade. The New York committee adhered to the plan of a Congress, and to her persistence is due the famous First Continental Congress of 1774. Dissatisfied with their defeat, the malcontents,

led by Alexander McDougall, a member of the Committee of Fifty-one, and Isaac Sears, who ran a sloop in the coasting trade to Boston, called the meeting on the Fields, which approved the Boston plan, and adopted a resolution of the Boston town meeting of the 13th May, almost in their own words, "That a non-importation agreement would prove the salvation of North America." The Committee of Fifty-one insisted that the whole subject should be left in the hands of the Congress, and the common sense of the city sustained them in their evidently wise course. In July the delegates presented by the committee were elected. The committee of Fifty-one had the honor of inaugurating that "*grand system of politics*," which culminated in the American Union.

Hamilton rendered more practical service with his pen. His answers to "A Farmer's" letters were able and timely and remarkable for a youth of eighteen, but it must not be forgotten that the period was one of discussion, and that the journals teemed with political essays. That they placed him in "the first line of public men" is a statement not to be for a moment admitted. Talleyrand's famous caution against "too much zeal" finds fit application here. But we are not inclined to cavil with an admiration which knows no bounds.

Of the externals of the volume, no praise would be too great. Its superb typography, its mellow tinted paper, will delight the heart of the book-lover. We hope Mr. Shea will continue his studies until his essays become a complete biography; but we commend to him a careful study of Hamilton's simple, lucid style. The key-note is pitched too high for modern taste.

CAMPAIGN OF THE WAR OF 1812-15
AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN. Sketched and criticised, with brief biographies of the American engineers, by Brevet Major-General GEORGE W. CULLUM, Colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., retired. 8vo, pp. 412. JAMES MILLER, New York, 1879.

The purpose of this volume is not to give a minute account of the second war with Great Britain, but sketches of the campaigns in sufficient detail for an understanding of their military features, and the tactical and strategical errors incident to them. This, the historical part of the work, runs through ten chapters each one of which bears the name of one of the commanders, except Chapter IX., which is devoted to sketches of engineers with whom the distinguished author was intimate during his professional career.

The sketch of General Williams, which opens the volume, is of peculiar interest. On the creation of a Corps of Engineers, by the law of

March, 1802, he was appointed to its command, and by the terms of the law became first Superintendent of the Military Academy. To the wise impulse given by General Williams much of the brilliant future of this institution is ascribed. Perhaps to his example also may be traced some of the proud tenacious exclusiveness, which is to this day a marked characteristic of the corps. Because his idea of the dignity of his position did not coincide with the views of the limit of his command entertained by the Secretary of War, Colonel Williams threw up his position in 1803, and retired to private life. The reader will not be surprised to find General Cullum, himself of the Engineer Corps, defending the position taken by his predecessor, and condemning the course of the Secretary, but that the latter was right is clear enough from the sequel; the official order of the Commander-in-Chief, by which Colonel Williams was reappointed, explicitly directing that the officers of the engineers should not interfere with the command of the line. In 1807 Williams directed the fortification of New York. Later an account is given of the personal disagreements of Eustis, the Secretary of War, and of his animosity to the Military Academy and the Corps of Engineers, in which this Secretary fares no better than his predecessors. In consequence of this disagreement with the War Department, which we may be pardoned for saying has been a chronic condition of the relations between West Point and Washington, Colonel Williams again resigned. An effort was made to restore him in 1813, and the General was good enough to intimate that the offer of restoration, with the rank of Major-General "could not be declined," since the government had "acquiesced in the principles for which he had contended;" but, as General Cullum observes, this proposition, for some unknown reason, was not carried into effect. Sufficient reason appears in the intimation of Colonel Williams.

A biographical sketch of Major-General Joseph G. Totten carries with it a brief account of the campaign of 1812. The vital strategic blunders of the plan of the campaign, which is summed up as an inglorious fiasco, are directly charged on the Secretary of War. The true objective points of attack are pointed out to have been Halifax, or Quebec, or Montreal, any one of which would have determined the war, while Detroit and Mackinac were secondary and unimportant. Amid all the disgrace of the campaign, Totten gained a reputation which he brought down, unsullied, to our own day of larger enterprise.

A biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazer D. Wood next accompanies a history of the Western campaign of 1813. General John Armstrong had replaced Eustis as Secretary of War, but began his military dispositions with a

repetition of his predecessor's blunder in the movement of isolated columns upon weak points of the enemy. Only northwestern operations are described. Here the conduct of the campaign by Harrison and Harmer is severely censured as unmilitary, and the responsibility of its failure thrown upon the former; even the glorious final success on the Thames, which won him the Presidential Chair in 1840. General Cullum ascribes to the pusillanimity, inefficiency and blunders of Proctor. Wood fell later in the campaign while gallantly leading a column in a sortie from Fort Erie.

With the Eastern campaign of 1813 there is a sketch of Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift, in which the operations of the army of the center and right are described; and in succeeding chapters the campaign of 1814, the siege and defence of Lake Erie, the Chesapeake and Louisiana Campaign, all of which the student of military strategy may study to advantage. Simple maps greatly aid in the understanding of the author's theories and criticisms. To his military peers General Cullum must look for adequate appreciation of his criticisms. But the general reader will be amply rewarded by a careful study of its pages. There is no higher authority than their writer.

LIFE, LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF
GEORGE TICKNOR. Ninth edition. 2 vols.
8vo, pp. 524—533. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co.
Boston, 1878.

The interest of these volumes is sufficiently shown by the striking fact that, although they were only first given to the public in the early part of 1876, the ninth edition has already been reached, while the English demand has been supplied by a separate issue, printed at London. They were greeted with pleasure on the Continent, as well as in England, and were the occasion of numerous critical reviews, which united in praise of the charm of the autobiography and writings of the genial, accomplished and scholarly gentleman, whose experiences in the life of letters they faithfully record, and of satisfaction with the frank, not unfriendly character of his criticisms of the phases of European society which opened to his close vision. In our August number (I., 550) attention was particularly called to the admirable reviews of the London edition, which came out consecutively in the April and May numbers of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in which Mr. R. Blerzy, under the title of *Les Mémoires d'un Humaniste Américain*, recited Mr. Ticknor's youth and early travels; Europe, from 1835 to 1838 (as seen by him); and the old age of a Federalist. These pages give an independent judgment, from the European point of view, of this distinguished gentleman, whose name will be more surely

perpetuated by these admirable volumes than even by the classical and exhaustive history of Spanish literature, which makes him familiar to all lovers of belles lettres.

The first ten chapters of the memoirs are from the pen of Mr. George S. Hillard, and the form and proportions of the work are of his casting, but his illness led to the assumption of the task by Mrs. Ticknor and Miss Anna Ticknor, his eldest daughter. How truthfully, yet modestly, the pious duty has been performed, the public taste, that final and only true arbiter, has already pronounced. The purpose of his life is shown to have been in thorough accord with the fundamental principle of the ancient philosophic schools—the acquisition of knowledge in order to impart it; the subordination of even personal gratification of the highest excellence to that of greatest usefulness.

To the student the account of his University life at Göttingen, and the admirable manner in which he found time to mingle in the society of the most celebrated persons, travel somewhat, yet pursue a broad line of studies, and amass copious notes for future use, will prove of exceptional interest; while the general reader will enjoy the tender simplicity of his familiar correspondence, and his keen appreciation of men and things, at one of the most interesting stages of the panorama of the century. In the course of his long career he made the personal acquaintance of many of the celebrities of England and the Continent. Before he went abroad he had at twenty-three been complimented with the seat of honor at the table of President Madison. In England he was the familiar guest of Roscoe, Sir Humphrey Davy, Byron, Gifford, Campbell and the publisher Murray. In Germany he was the intimate of Blumenbach, and Wolf, 'the corypheus of German philologists,' and the first Greek scholar of his day. In his *Journal* of this period he gives an account of his visit to Goethe, which is striking in its naturalness. It was at this time, 1816, that he was offered the Professorship of French and Spanish literature at Harvard, which he accepted, and after three years of careful preparation entered upon its duties on the 10th August, 1819. Before his return, however, his travels and studies led him through France, Italy and Spain, and his journal, which records interviews with Schlegel, Madame de Staël, Humboldt, Pozzo di Borgo, the 'evil star of the First Napoleon,' Chateaubriand, and Lafayette, whom he visited at Chateau La Grange. In Rome he was presented to Pope Pius VII., for whom he had the highest respect, because of his resistance to "the Bonaparte," whom he hated with the ardor of a true Federalist. Here also he met Bunsen and Niebuhr, who "filled him with admiration and astonishment" by his immense learning and memory.

The beauties of Southern Spain give occasion for descriptions of scenery and architecture, which are exquisite gems of precision and nice discrimination of language. Here he drew large draughts of inspiration for his future task. On his way north to take his leave of Europe he met Talleyrand in Paris, and records an interesting conversation, in which Washington, Hamilton and Burr were mentioned. In London he saw Lords Holland, Brougham and Mackintosh; in Scotland, Scott, Southey and Wordsworth. On his return to America he was twenty-eight years of age. He immediately devoted himself to his duties, and upon the collection and arrangement of his library, which became not only a famous factor in American literature, but the familiar resort of men of letters of both continents. For fifteen years he continued his active life as a professor, when, partly dissatisfied with the narrow management of Harvard, and immediately urged by the ill health of his daughter, the admirable lady whose inherited taste and culture are shown in these volumes, he resigned his charge, and again visited Europe.

The record of his second voyage is as delightful as that of the first. It is more interesting, as presenting the change which had taken place in the European world between Waterloo and the days of July. The restoration had disappeared. The King of the French sat on the throne of the King of France. After fifteen years of reaction the Revolution had resumed its sway, and France had moved one step forward towards the freedom asserted in 1789. After nearly two years' absence, Mr. Ticknor returned in 1838 to the United States.

Great as were his services as an instructor, it was well that he resigned his professorship. Free from other engagements, he now set resolutely to work at his *History of Spanish Literature*, in which he had the advice of Prescott and the aid of Irving, who, as minister at Madrid, gave him peculiar facilities. The work appeared simultaneously in London and New York, in 1849, and passed through four editions. A Spanish foundation was made and the work received with unqualified praise. It secured him a not unequal place in the triumvirate, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, which has made, in styles as different as they are felicitous, the history and literature of Spain familiar themes to English ears. Later in life Mr. Ticknor took great interest in the Boston Public Library, which he determined to make a free library. He made to it extensive gifts of special collections of books and devoted fourteen years to its service, during which he made a third visit to Europe on its business. He again found a new order of things; Napoleon the Third was on the throne he had "surprised," but of this there is small mention. He returned to America from this his last visit in 1857. The next year he lost his dearest and most congenial

friend in Prescott, whose life he wrote. The clearness of his perception was shown by his foresight as to the results of secession. He saw that nothing but war was possible after Sumter, and foreseen the result of the war. Beyond the war he saw nothing but "the blackness of thick darkness resting on the South," but he spared no effort, personal or public, to mitigate the fury of popular passion. To the close of his life he retained his interest in letters and literary men, and died with contentment and cheerfulness on the 26th of January, 1871, in his eighty-first year. His Spanish and Portuguese works he left by will to the Boston Public Library.

EARLY CHAPTERS OF CAYUGA HISTORY. JESUIT MISSIONS IN GOI-O-GOUEN, 1656-1684. Also an account of the Sulpitian missions among the emigrant Cayugas about Quinte Bay in 1668. By CHARLES HAWLEY, with an introduction by JOHN GILMARY SHEA. 8vo, pp. 106. IVISON & PERRY, Auburn, N. Y., 1879.

Mr. Hawley, the accomplished president of the Cayuga Historical Society, recites the contents of this pamphlet to be substantially as follows: Such extracts were made from the *Relations* of the Jesuit fathers as described their labors among the Cayugas, whose Canton, known to the French as Goi-o-Gouen, lay largely within the present county of Cayuga. Translations of these extracts were made, which first appeared in a series of articles in the Auburn Daily Advertiser; the history of the mission being carried to 1672, which was as far as the *Relations* accessible to Mr. Hawley extended. These articles were collected in a pamphlet.

A second volume was then undertaken with co-operation of Dr. John Gilmary Shea, whose familiarity with the entire range of subject is well known. From the material in his possession translations were made, and the history of the Cayuga mission carried down to its close. The proof sheets of the entire work have had his intelligent supervision, and the introduction is from his pen. The work is prefaced by a chart prepared by Gen. John S. Clark, showing the location of the Iroquois Five Nations and mission sites, 1656-1684, and numerous notes have been contributed by this gentleman, who is an enthusiastic investigator of the archæologic remains of this peculiarly interesting section of our country.

The introduction of Mr. Shea supplies a valuable bibliographical account of the *Relations* themselves. These *Relations*, so often quoted, are almost the only original deposits of information concerning the Jesuit missions which were a part of the French scheme of American civilization and empire. They form a series of small vol-

umes issued in France from 1632 to 1672, on the annual arrival at her ports of the ships from Canada with American produce and the report of the Superior of the missions. They were cheaply printed, in some cases in several editions, and widely circulated. They led to the establishments in Canada of the Sulpitians, the Ursuline and Hospital nuns. A strong opposition arising to the Jesuits, with Count de Frontenac at its head, the Recollects were introduced to replace the Jesuits, and Indian missions under Sulpitians and secular priests encouraged.

The Jesuit *Relations* thus dropped out of sight and were almost unknown except from the use made of them by Du Creux or Charlevoix. With the foundation of American libraries, the *Relations* found their way to notice. Bancroft and Murray first drew attention to them. Of one volume a single copy only was known. It was secured by Faribault for the Parliament Library in Quebec, but destroyed with the collection by a mob. Fortunately Mr. James Lenox had caused an accurate transcript to be made of it, from which it was reprinted with two others, the most rare in the series. A bibliographical account of the whole collection was prepared by Dr. O'Callaghan, and printed in the Proceedings of the New York Historical Society. Since then the Canadian government has reprinted the whole series in three volumes, accessible to all.

This is the pioneer attempt to determine accurately, with careful maps, the precise sites of the missions. All honor to Cayuga for leading the way in this important work.

The first of the chapters, entitled Jesuit Missions among the Cayugas, begins with an account of the first effort made to reach the Iroquois by a mission in 1656. It originated apparently in a plot laid by the Iroquois in 1653 to induce the Hurons, whom they subdued and drew in to their protection from the French, to make common cause with them. Nevertheless it was resolved to accept the proposal of the Iroquois to send a mission to them, and Father Le Moyne, a veteran Huron missionary, was despatched to Onondaga in 1654. He was warmly and hospitably received. In 1655 others followed, and in 1656, although treachery was feared, two sloops left Quebec for Onondaga with the mission on board, which was confided to the care of Father René Menard, whose Relation makes the second chapter.

In the third is an account of the escape of the fifty-three colonists from the fortified house in Lake Ganentaa, and their safe arrival at Montreal. This mission was not reestablished until 1669, when it was successfully undertaken by Father de Carheil at the instance of Garacantie, the Chief of the Onondagas. The Cayuga mission was specially patronized by Saonchiogwa, the Chief of the Cantons, who was

second only in influence to Garacantie among the Iroquois. The letters of Carheil are full of details. He was delighted with Cayuga, less pleased with the Mohawk Valley. Oneida and Onondaga, as well as Seneca, he found little adapted for the chase, but more than a thousand deer were killed every year near Cayuga.

The Relation bears testimony on every page to the earnest zeal of the Jesuits; their eager desire to save souls; their ambition to be sacrificed as martyrs. Curiously but naturally enough, their persistence in baptism of the moribund savages led to the belief that they were the occasion of death, which had often serious consequences.

The extraordinary powers and conversation of the great Huron chief, the Rat, who alone was a match for Frontenac in wit and repartee, are alluded to.

The next division relates the history of the Sulpitian mission at Quinte Bay from Dollier de Casson's History of Montreal, first published by the Montreal Historical Society in 1869, and translated by Dr. Shea for the present work. The mission was organized in 1668. The Jesuits were replaced at Kente by the Sulpitians in 1675.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH. Being a history of France from the beginning of the first French revolution to the end of the second empire. By HENRI VAN LAUN. 2 vols., 8vo, pp., 503-554. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

In these volumes Mr. Van Laun, who is well known to the English reading public as the translator of Taine's masterful History of English Literature, presents a concise account of the most eventful period in the history of France, a period which includes the rise and fall of two republics and two monarchies, one absolute, the other constitutional, and of two empires, leaving the government in 1878 in the hands to which it passed in 1789—the hands of the people. The writer does not claim to have made original investigation. He relies chiefly on the *Histoire des Français*, by M. M. Lavalée and Loch, the historic sketches of de Goncourt and Quinet, the works of Carlyle, the introduction being drawn from the original and admirable work of Taine on the Ancien Regime.

The suggestive titles of the books of the first volume are, *The Gathering of the Storm*, *The Republic*, *The Directory*, and *The Consulate*. The style is the energetic style of which Carlyle set the example. The paragraphs are pictures, the sentences brush-dashes, strong in color and crisp in form. In his chapter on the Consulate the course of Bonaparte is treated with fairness, the difficulties of his position are explained, and the gradual evolution of the first

empire, as a logical sequence of the political condition of France, divided at home and threatened from without, is explained. Here for the first time we find the admission that the imperialism of Napoleon was the choice of France, and that she opposed him with pride, as the military incarnation of the revolution, to the feudal system against which it was in perpetual revolt.

The second volume gives an account of the Empire, of the Restoration, the Reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Republic. The new emperor was acknowledged by all the sovereigns of Europe except three. The King of Spain was the first, the King of Prussia the second to acknowledge the new government, the latter with almost obsequious flattery.

In his assumption of the Imperial dignity Van Laun considers that the Emperor was self deceived. He credits him, however, with a sincere regard for the interests of France, and also with a desire for the maintenance of peace. All the wars of Europe were charged upon the inordinate ambition of Napoleon, but a fair examination will show that he was rarely the aggressive party; unless that his existence as an emperor was a perpetual aggression. Here was the one fault of his career: Had he not formed a dynasty he would, till the last, have been able to command the assistance of the entire republican element of the continent, and perhaps to have changed the political condition of all Europe.

The fall of the restoration is properly ascribed to the innate obstinacy of the Bourbons; that of the constitutional monarchy to the incapacity of the ministry. The two great causes were the contempt in which Louis Philippe was held for his parsimony, and the natural disgust of France with the secondary place to which she had fallen through his vacillating and weak foreign policy. The second republic was doomed to fail. Indeed, permanent government seemed impossible any where. There was a great financial crisis all over Europe. And the social question was in every man's mouth. Industry languished everywhere, and the relations between capital and labor had divided society, indeed all Europe, into two camps. The struggle came, and socialism, which had appealed to the sword, fell by the sword.

How Louis Napoleon took advantage of the favorable moment, stabbed in the dark the Republic he had sworn to defend, and revived the Empire, is concisely told. It is with some surprise, however, that we note the omission by this keen observer of the one important fact in Napoleon's reign; that which gave to it all of its brilliancy. The discovery of gold in California, in 1848, inaugurated a new era in modern society. With the enormous increase of the specie basis credit was again expanded, confidence restored and enterprise and industries of every kind received an impulse which carried

the empire with it on an irresistible wave. It was the gold of California and not the star of Napoleon that cast over the second empire the glitter of prosperity, and brought to it the name of the Golden Age. The history closes with the deposition of the emperor and the restoration of the Republic—may it live forever!

It has never been our fortune to read a history of France so calm, so fair, so dispassionate as this of Van Laun.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY on their Twenty-second Anniversary, May 25, 1877, by J. J. Pringle Smith. 8vo, pp. 35, App. vii. LUCAS & RICHARDSON, Charleston, S. C.

With admiration for the chaste classic style of this address and respect for the critical scholarship which every line reveals, we must nevertheless express a regret that it was ever delivered, or rather that the sentiments which prompt it still exist in the hearts of the people of the Southern States. It opens with a statement to which the most incessant repetition can not impart one particle of truth. "Sixteen years ago," it says, this State (South Carolina), with ten others, withdrew from the Federal union, seeking safety, peace and happiness under a government within their own borders, so organized as to them seemed most likely to effect these objects. War was waged to force them again into the Union." The converse of this is the truth. The nation called "the United-States," to preserve safety, peace and happiness, and the government its people had chosen, determined to permit no strange foreign government to be formed within her limits. Ten States, led by South Carolina, waged war against the United States to establish such a foreign government within the territory of the Nation. They were defeated. With a magnanimity of which there is no example in history—a mistaken magnanimity, it may be—the nation restored to the rebellious States the rights they had forfeited. If Mr. Smith truly expresses the sentiment of the Southerners, which we doubt, there is future strife in store for the country, and every lover of free institutions will regret that the ten States were territorially reorganized, and the name of South Carolina had not been stricken from the roll of the Union.

Able as the reasoning of Mr. Smith is, it is after all but a reopening of the old argument which Webster closed on the floor of the Senate, and which it was supposed that Lee surrendered with his sword at Appomattox Court House. If this were not the result, the issue must be tried again. Sentiment will not be permitted to control the next settlement. We prefer to believe that Mr. Smith does not truly represent the opinions of the Southern people.

THE GENEALOGIES AND ESTATES OF CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1629-1818. By THOMAS BELLOWES WYMAN. 2 vols., Royal 8vo, A-J and K-Z, pp. 1173. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1879.

In the May number (III. 327) announcement was made of the intended publication of the long researches of the late lamented Thomas Bellows Wyman in the genealogies of old Middlesex. The work is now given to the public in two superb volumes, edited with punctilious care, in the most approved method of arrangement, alphabetically and synthetically, and is admirably printed by the competent publishers.

The first volume is prefaced by a steel engraved portrait of the quaint and charming author; the second by a "Plan of Charlestown peninsula, in the State of Massachusetts, from accurate surveys by Peter Tufts, Junior, Esqr., 1818."

By the nuncupative will of Mr. Wyman, Mr. Henry H. Edes was designated to carry forward to completion the printing of the work in the earliest stages of which the author was arrested by the hand of Death. The familiarity of the editor with the author's plan, his intimate knowledge of his peculiar habits of thought and idiomatic expression, have enabled him to approximate most closely to the purpose of his friend. This is apparent to all those who had occasion to call to their aid Mr. Wyman's professional services as a searcher and copyist of genealogical material. We have under our eye a collection of this material made by him some years ago in genealogical investigation, and speak from personal knowledge.

The excellent critics of the Boston papers, whose associations give them peculiar advantages of local observation and knowledge—Mr. Charles W. Tuttle in the *Daily Advertiser*, and Mr. George E. Ellis in the *Evening Transcript*—unite in unqualified praise of the "great work" of Mr. Wyman, and the admirable manner in which it has been carried to completion by Mr. Edes. It would be mere supererogation in any one less qualified than they to add one word to their encomiums.

The work has been fostered by the authorities of the city of Charlestown, in the honor of which it will stand as a monument when brass shall have been broken and marble crumbled into dust.

A memoir of Mr. Wyman is announced to appear shortly in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. It is greatly to be regretted that it is not included in these volumes, where in the future it will be naturally sought.

OSGOOD'S GUIDE-BOOKS.—NEW ENGLAND ; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of New England, and to its scenery and historical attractions; with the western and northern borders from New York to Quebec. With six maps and eleven plans. Sixth edition, revised and augmented. 16mo, pp. 433. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

THE MIDDLE STATES ; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of the Middle States, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the northern frontier, from Niagara Falls to Montreal; also Baltimore, Washington and Northern Virginia. Third edition. 16mo, pp. 469. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES ; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the chief cities, coasts and islands of the maritime provinces of Canada, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal; also Newfoundland and the Labrador coasts. With four maps and four plans. 16mo, pp. 336. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1875.

THE WHITE MOUNTAINS ; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. A guide to the peaks, passes and ravines of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and to the adjacent railroads, highways and villages; with the lakes and mountains of Western Maine; also Lake Winnepesaukee and the upper Connecticut Valley. With six maps and six panoramas. 16mo, pp. 436. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

These celebrated guide-books made their first appearance in the order in which they are above given, and are too well known to need any commendation. With the clean, clear type of the Riverside press, for which this American Chiswick is famous, they contain a vast amount of carefully collated information in compact space and handy form.

Their popularity is shown by the number of editions issued. No traveler can well afford to be without them. The best houses on the routes are recommended, and their prices given.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW—FOURTEENTH YEAR. JULY, 1879. 8vo. STRAHAN & Co. Limited. London. INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, New York.

In the leading article of the July number of this periodical, which maintains its character for serious discussion of themes of the higher order, Mr. Thomas Hughes presents, in the form of a review of Mr. Bigelow's recent life of Benjamin Franklin, a concise analysis of the character of the American Sage, which is intended to modify in some respects the judgment held of him in Great Britain. He is shown to have been the most successful man of his day; the editor of the most influential paper in America; the most prolific and the most popular author on either side of the Atlantic, and the inventor of mechanical appliances, which made his name familiar in every home; notwithstanding which, while there have been complete editions of Franklin's works and numerous biographies of him published on both sides of the Atlantic since 1800, only "one slight biographical sketch in Chambers' Cheap Library and one article in the Edinburgh Review of 1806 remain the only notices which have been issued from the English press of the greatest of American philosophers and diplomatists."

Mr. Hughes seeks the reasons for this striking neglect, which has obscured Franklin's fame in England, and finds therein political and religious prejudice: the first founded on the belief that while the American Resident in England he was secretly undermining the allegiance of the colonies before the war, and at its close was the one American Commissioner who attempted to impose unworthy terms on England; the second, that while professing Christianity, he was in fact a skeptic, and veiled hostility under a guise of toleration. The first of these charges is taken up and disposed of, and a just tribute is paid to the honesty and frankness of Franklin's character. It is in regard to his attitude in the negotiation of the peace of 1783 that English prejudice was aroused against him. He is supposed to have desired to humiliate England, to have shown suspicion of Grenville, to have instilled the same feeling into the minds of Adams and Jay, and to have brought about the ultimate refusal of all compensation to loyalists, after having led the English Government to expect his support in this branch of the negotiations. Some new light was thrown on the general subject of the correspondence between John Quincy Adams and William Jay, as to the parts taken by their respective fathers in the treaty, published in the January number of the Magazine (III., 39), from which it appears that while Jay, with the serene judgment which marked his entire career, always maintained terms of mutual good understand-

ing with both of his colleagues, the same good feeling did not exist between Franklin and Adams.

In the opinion of Mr. Hughes, Franklin's conduct in the negotiation was alone consistent. "It was Jay," he says, "not Franklin, who stood out for a preliminary declaration of independence from England. Jay and Adams, not Franklin, who were afterwards prepared to waive such a declaration, and even to negotiate separately, when they found that the French Minister, de Vergennes, was not unwilling that England should delay the recognition of independence." In the sharp struggle between Franklin and Shelburne, the one to consolidate the alliance of America and France, the other to weaken that bond, and in its place to establish an alliance between Great Britain and America, equal credit is ascribed to each, and full justice is done to the motives of each of these "thoroughly upright and able men." Each was acting in the best interests of his country. In this initial struggle may be found the germ of the two great parties, the Federal and Republican, which, leaning respectively to English and French forms of government, divided the sentiment of the United States in the earlier days of its history.

The prejudice against Franklin on religious grounds Mr. Hughes considers as more intelligible, but quite as unreasonable; and in fact justice to a man of the independence of thought of Franklin could hardly be expected from the narrow restricted limits, within which, until recently, the church of every denomination has sought to confine the speculation of science. The generation has not yet passed of those who heard in their youth the anathemas of the church against the infidelity of geology. We have seen it only recently stated that Robespierre's first important cause was a defense of the introduction of Franklin's lightning rods against the charge of impiety. Notwithstanding the opinion generally held of Franklin's religious belief, and of his independence of definite creeds, Mr. Hughes finds in the picture of this master of practical life, as painted by himself in his correspondence, that "if he never lifts us above the earth, or beyond the domain of experience and common-sense, he retained himself a strong hold on the invisible which underlies it." Mr. Adams, in the correspondence which has been quoted, says that "worldly wisdom was Franklin's god," and hints at his disbelief in a future state. There is nothing in Franklin's life or writings which justifies such a suspicion. Indeed in his letter to President Stiles of Yale College, written at eighty-four on the confines of eternity, he expressly avows his belief in God, in a divine government of the world, in the immortality of the soul, and in the doctrine of reward and punishment in another life.

REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES, XLIX ANNÉE, TROISIÈME PÉRIODE. Tome trente et unième. 15 February, 1879. Paris, 1879. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Under the title of "A Hero of the Seven Years' War, the Marquis Louis de Montcalm," M. Hamont contributed to the February number of this stately and always interesting periodical one of the most charming biographical sketches which has appeared in many years. The precise details on which it rests consist in an unpublished journal and numerous letters of Montcalm, *Le Canada* by Dussieux et Montcalm, *le Canada Français* by de Bonnechose, of which a review was given in these pages. Montcalm by Sommervogel, and *Le Marquis de Montcalm*, by the Abbé Martin. The manuscripts were communicated to Mr. Hamont by M. Margry, whose recent work on the French Settlements in America is fresh in the minds of our readers.

The traits of this heroic character from early youth, when he drew his inspiration from a study of Plutarch in the original, to the hour in which, unsupported by his own lieutenants and overwhelmed by a superior force, he fell on the plains of Abraham, a sacrifice to the criminal neglect of the French ministry, are drawn by a master hand.

At twenty-two he already displayed the type of the true soldier, with the inner lining of a lofty and refined soul. Tempted to the gambling table by the gay young officers of the Strasbourg garrison, and for a moment carried away by the fatal passion which it is said never relinquishes its hold upon its victims, he proved an exception to the rule, and breaking away in shame from his excesses, he found in the study of the Greek classics a cure for even this disease. He was more fortunate in two associations he made at this period, one with an officer, the Marquis de la Fare, the other with Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals, a minister fashioned in the mould of Louvois. Still more fortunate was he in his marriage with the granddaughter of Denis Talon, a love match, even though in the reign of Louis XV., when love and marriage were rarely synonymous terms.

On the disgrace of Chauvelin, despairing of obtaining a regiment, his one ambition, he followed La Fare to the wars of the Austrian succession and at once distinguished himself by his ardent zeal and indomitable resolution. Promoted colonel of the regiment of Auxerrois, he was sent to Italy, and held the difficult line of communication between Bayard and Asidagna with an iron hand. At Plaisance he led his regiment over the enemy's redoubts and fell within the lines, desperately wounded by five sabre cuts from a Croat hussar. He was found

senseless on the field the next morning by the Austrians. At the peace he was promoted to a brigade.

The strength of his character was in its moral force. He resembled the heroes of Plutarch in his antique stoicism, the dramatic characters of Euripides and Sophocles, in the proud equanimity with which he bore unflinching the changes and trials and sufferings of life.

Of all men, he was the man for an independent and distant command. It needed a wide field of operations to draw out his latent resources and show the variety of his powers of organization and administration. Such a field was Canada at the critical moment when the seven years' war broke out. D'Argenson saw his capacity and charged him with the defence of New France.

Our own able and fascinating chronicler, Mr. Parkman, has told the story of the rise and fall of the great empire which France founded on our continent, with a thoroughness and precision that renders any fresh recital superfluous, but even those most familiar with his pages will find delight in the dramatic manner in which the difficulties and the dangers which beset the martial governor, and the unwavering activity and unconquerable resolution with which they were met—a resolution which partook of the traits rarely combined, of unbounded audacity and a prudence which neglected no precaution, overlooked no detail. The passages in the sketch, in which the author defends and frees Montcalm from the charge of encouraging his savage allies to acts of barbarism, are peculiarly interesting. With the wonderful facility which the French have always shown in their adaptation to the modes of thought and action of savage tribes, Montcalm acquired over the redskins an almost superhuman influence. Nothing can be more dramatic than the description of the scene when he met the Indian tribes in council, and threw into the midst of the assembly the necklace, which was to remain the emblem of the Union between France and her Indian allies. It was to this scene and this emblem that the French appealed when they sought the assistance of the Indians to the allied cause in 1780, and their appeal was not in vain.

Notwithstanding his self-reliance, Montcalm never underrated the imminent peril of the colony. He knew the apathy, the indifference, the degradation of Versailles. "We shall fight," he wrote to the Minister, when his entire force to hold the frontier and garrison the posts was but seven thousand men. "We shall fight, and we shall bury ourselves if need be beneath the ruins of the colony;" and he kept his word. In the general decrepitude, moral, political and financial, into which France fell, the heroism of Montcalm alone sufficed to

save from the general wreck the lustre of her military glory and the honor of her flag.

NOTICE

THIRD SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS, BRUSSELS,

SEPTEMBER, 1879

Through the kindness of the Rev. B. F. DeCosta we have been favored with the newspaper reports of this session and a letter from M. E. Beauvois, of Corberon, one of the most distinguished of its French members.

The session is described to have been more brilliant than either of those that preceded it. The King of the Belgians, the President of Venezuela, and several high officials, past and present, civil and military, were present. The papers sent in were more thorough and scholarly in their treatment than those before read. The official report will consist of two volumes, and be ready for delivery by mid-summer of next year.

The next, the fourth session of the Congress, will be held at Madrid or Seville, in 1881.

The Americans at the Congress were very desirous to have the next session held in the United States, but as no formal request to this effect from persons high in authority was presented to the Congress, and as a formal invitation was received from the Spanish Government, the Council of Direction decided in favor of Spain.

To the proposition of the American delegates it was suggested that if they seriously desired to hold a session in America, the Congress might be summoned in the interim between the sessions; that is, in 1880. These sessions, parallel and independent of each other, would not be competing, but, on the contrary, would serve to recruit new members, who would make part of both Congresses. M. Beauvois suggests, in addition, that the American session might treat of the later centuries, while the European might be properly confined to the pre-Columbian period and the century of discovery.

To this, with deference to the experience and learning of M. Beauvois, we suggest that the year 1883, the centennial of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, the celebration of which will be a great national event, and therefore peculiarly attractive to foreigners, will be the most appropriate time for the holding of an American session; and we further think that in view of the great interest displayed in all that concerns our pre-historic remains, American archaeologists will not be content with a plan of papers confined to post-Columbian history.

EDITOR.

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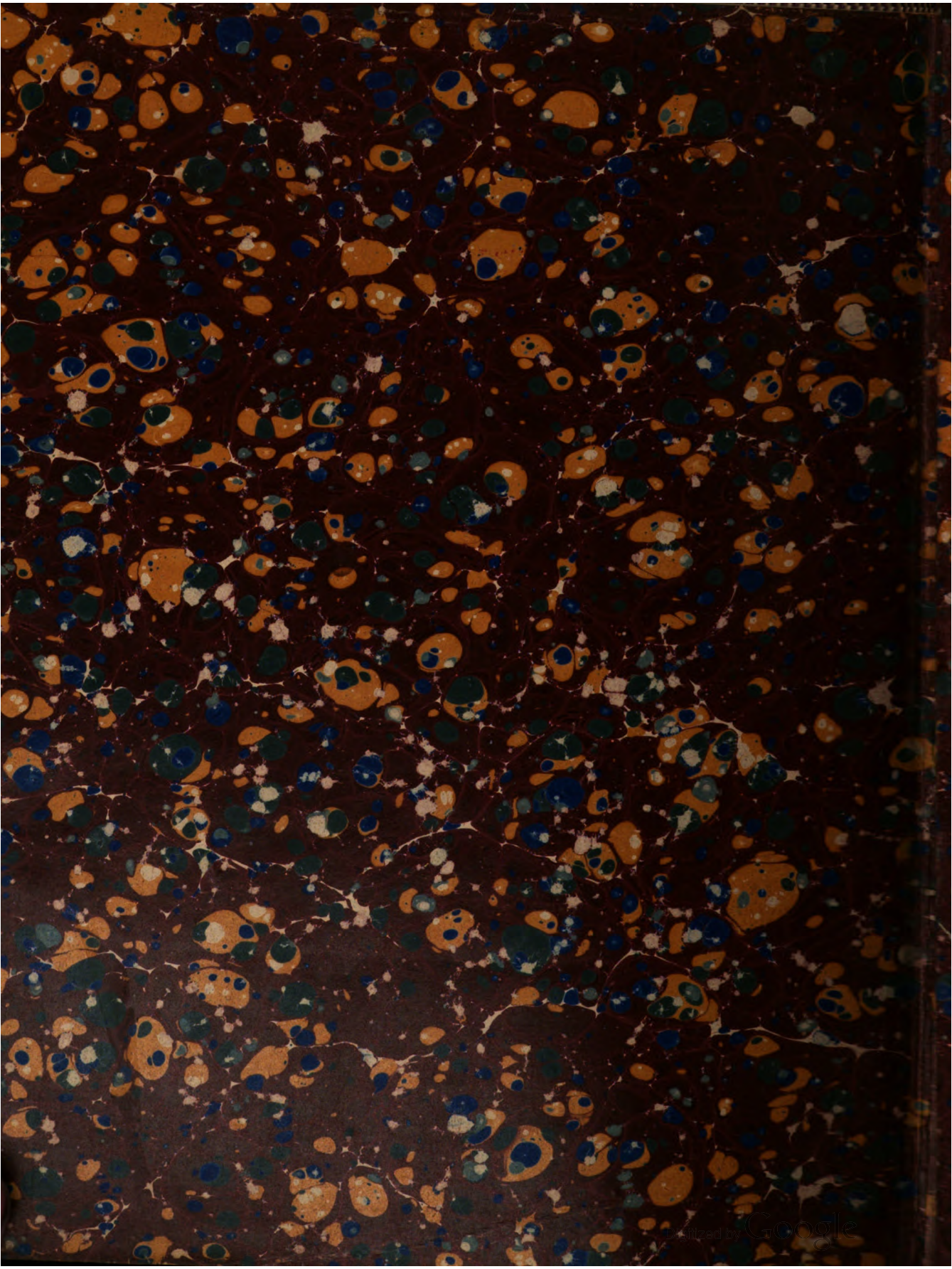
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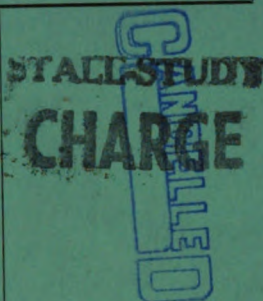
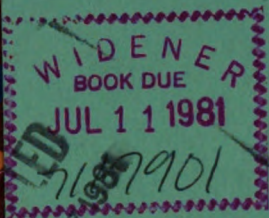


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